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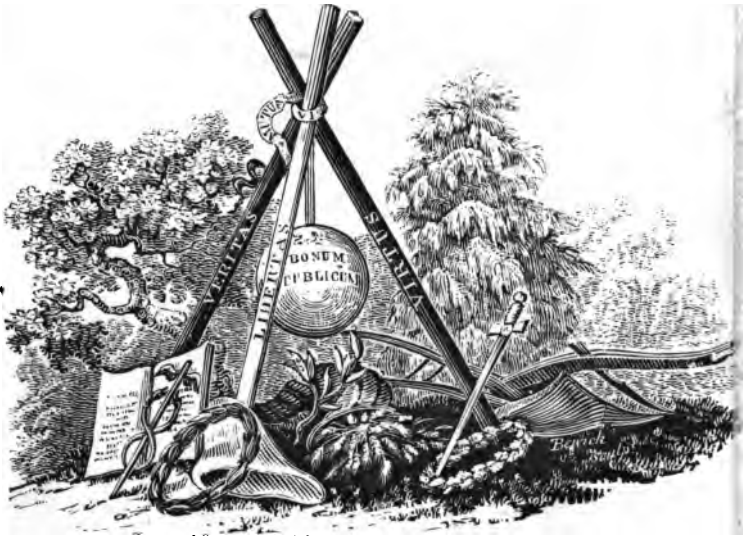
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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE LIFE OF
KING HENRY THE SECOND,
AND OF THE AGE IN WHICH HE LIVED,
IN FIVE BOOKS:

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A History of the Revolutions of England
From the Death of EDWARD the Confessor
To the Birth of HENRY the Second:

BY GEORGE LORD LYTTELTON,
THE THIRD EDITION.
V O L. II.



L O N D O N,
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THE HISTORY

OF THE LIFE OF

KING HENRY THE SECOND.

THE clergy having so unanimously declared for Matilda, almost all England was induced by their powerful influence, and by the fear which the defeat and captivity of the king had brought on his party, to think likewise of submitting to the government of that lady, except the single county of Kent, which the queen maintained for her husband, with the assistance of his favorite, William of Ipres. This general, immediately after the battle of Lincoln, retired thither with most of the mercenary troops, encouraged the people of that county, who had been always well affected to Stephen, and drew to his standard all the bravest of that prince's friends, who daily came in from every part of the kingdom; some of them hoping to serve their unfortunate master, and others to obtain better conditions for themselves, by remaining in arms. The

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citat. ut supra.

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Book I.

city of London continued doubtful which sovereign they should own, but much more inclined to the king than to Matilda, for near two months; at the end of which time, that princess having advanced as far as St. Albans, a body of the chief citizens waited on her there, and, after some treaty with her, consented to receive her within their walls. A few days before Midsummer she entered into that city, with a great train of spiritual and temporal lords, and with her uncle, the King of Scotland, who came to assist, as a feudatory, at her coronation. She then took up her residence at the palace of Westminster, built by William Rufus, and remained there some time, to order and compose the state of the kingdom. The earl of Gloucester served her well in this necessary work. He negotiated with the barons of the opposite faction, allured the haughty by caresses and the mercenary by promises, was full of humanity, moderation, and courtesy, in all his deportment. Nor did he merely employ fair appearances, or smooth words, to reconcile the inclinations of the people to that change which had espoused his sister's cause, or submitted to her power, he tried to reform the administration of justice, and restore the good ancient laws; being thoroughly sensible, that more stability would be given to government, by these acts of beneficence, than by force and fear, to which, he knew, the spirit of the people could not
long

long be subjected. Had she been guided by his wisdom, the whole kingdom would soon have acknowledged her sovereignty, without further opposition: but all his endeavours were defeated by the perverseness of her conduct. The pride and haughtiness of her temper were so swelled by this sudden gale of prosperity, that they bore her far from the course which his prudence desired to make her steer. From the day, in which the king was delivered to her a prisoner, her looks, her mien, her language, were absolutely changed. She assumed an air so imperious, that one would have thought her another Semiramis, giving laws to a nation long accustomed to servitude, rather than a princess of England, making her way, through many obstacles, to the limited government of a free people, not sufficiently convinced of her right to their fealty. Her Grandfather, William the Conqueror, was hardly more despotic at the end of his reign, than she at the beginning of a yet unassured and unsettled authority, even before the crown, so lately worn by her valiant antagonist, was placed on her head. Some of the party of Stephen, who came to offer their allegiance and services to her, she received with great coldness, others she drove from her presence with upbraidings and threats. All the grants made by that prince, even those to the church, she precipitately revoked, to give them to her favorites. From those who had submitted to

Vid. auctores
citat. ut suprà.

her she often took a part of their lands and possessions, as fines for their past conduct; and thus left them, at the best, but half reconciled to her, or rather secret enemies, who naturally felt more resentment for what they had lost, than gratitude for what they retained. But all the barons who, from a sense of honor or fidelity, delayed to abandon their late master, she wholly deprived of their honors and estates, and conferred them on others; thus rendering them implacable, and keeping up a head of opposition against her, which no time could remove. The citizens of London, whom she ought to have particularly courted, were treated with great severity: for she not only denied them the indulgence they asked, of being governed by the laws of King Edward the Confessor, but oppressed them by arbitrary and grievous exactions. They represented to her how much they had lost of that opulence they formerly had enjoyed, by the decay of their trade and other public calamities attending the war, besides the high demands, which the late government had often made upon them, and which they durst not refuse. They more especially pleaded the extraordinary expences they had lately sustained, in making provision for the relief of their poor, against an imminent danger of famine, which, they apprehended, was not yet entirely removed. And therefore they humbly implored her, in the most pathetic terms, to moderate her demand,

mand, or, at least, to grant them, out of compassion to their present great distress, a longer time for the payment; promising her, that, when peace should be perfectly established, as their riches would encrease, so should also their zeal for the support of her government. But, before they had ended their remonstrance, with rage in her eyes, frowns on her brow, and such a disorder of passion, as equally destroyed the majesty of the queen and the softness of the woman, she told them, that they had frequently and lavishly granted their money to Stephen, for his support, and to her detriment, having been long combined with her enemies, as she had felt to her cost; and therefore they must not expect that she would shew any lenity to them, or remit the least part of the sum she had demanded. So ill did she understand the art of converting subdued enemies into friends, which, so far as it can be done without alienating those by whose assistance they were subdued, is of all arts the most necessary in revolutions of government!

Nor was her behaviour more gracious to her friends themselves. When the bishop of Winchester and the earl of Gloucester were suitors to her for any of the king's party, she frequently rejected their intercessions with great rudeness, suffering them to kneel to her, without rising up: a pride, which, contrasted with the familiar and obliging behaviour of Stephen, appeared the more offensive

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five and insupportable to a free people. In vain did her brother, to whom she owed her success, suggest to her right measures, and a conduct more agreeable to that state she was in, and to the temper of the nation. Neither his counsels, nor those of the king of Scotland, her uncle, could prevail against the dictates of her impetuous passions, to which she now gave so absolute a sway, that she made little use even of her own understanding, which, in the former transactions of her life, had appeared to be much stronger and fitter for government, than could be imagined from her present behaviour. She was indeed quite intoxicated with her good fortune, and considered England as a conquered country, upon which she might trample at pleasure; forgetting that most of those by whom she had conquered had fought for freedom, and that even the vanquished party was not so dispirited, or reduced to such weakness, as that a galling and desperate resentment might not yet render them dangerous to her, especially if they were strengthened by a coalition with those whom interest alone had made her friends. But while she was lulled in all the security of insolent folly, and intent upon nothing but her approaching coronation, for the ceremonies of which she now prepared, with all the impatience and pleasure of a woman who loved the pomp of royalty no less than the substance, there arose a sudden storm, which burst upon her head with

Vid. anētores
citat. ut suprà.

with great fury, and drove her away for ever from that throne, which she believed herself just upon the point of ascending.

Book I.

There is no kind of tyranny that will so soon excite a revolt in a great trading city, as an oppressive taxation. The citizens of London, exasperated at the burthens laid upon them by the empress, and at the harshness of the answer which she had returned to their petition for relief, began to cabal, and consult together, how to shake off a yoke so intolerable to them. While their minds were in this ferment, King Stephen's queen, a lady, whose virtues even his enemies honored, had vainly endeavoured to procure for him his freedom, upon the hard conditions of resigning the crown, and going into a convent, or to the holy land, for the remainder of his life; which the chief lords of his party engaged he should do, and offered Matilda to surrender their castles and give her many hostages, to secure to her the performance of this stipulation. Nothing but an implacable desire of revenge could hinder her from accepting such a proposal, under the obligation she had to the bishop of Winchester, and considering how much her kingdom would suffer by the publick tranquillity not being restored. Nevertheless she rejected it with an air of disdain: whereupon the queen, who, with the gentleness becoming her sex, had a masculine courage, and knew how to act, at

Vid. auctores
citat. ut supra.

proper seasons, both with vigour and prudence, commanded her forces to pass over the river, and lay waste the whole country under the walls of London: but at the same time, by her secret agents, she invited the citizens to confederate with her against this most arrogant and tyrannical government; suggesting to them how easily they might, by a sudden and general insurrection, make themselves masters of the person of Matilda, and so redeem and restore the king. They, who now were in equal danger of losing their fortunes, by the avarice of Matilda, and by the arms of the queen, determined to save them, by adjoining with the latter, whom they had always loved, against the former, who had inflamed their ancient dislike of her into a furious and irreconcilable hatred. This resolution would have been executed, and Matilda, who thought that she had nothing to fear, because she saw the queen's troops employed in ravaging the lands of the citizens, would have been taken prisoner, in her palace of Westminster, by those very citizens, if she had not been opportunely apprised of her danger, by an intelligence sent to her from one of their body: upon which she immediately gave the alarm to her friends, and, with all possible silence and secrecy, drew them insensibly, by small parties, out of the city, before the conspirators there were ready to act: then mounting on horseback she retired in a military manner to Oxford, the nobles

bles who attended her forming with their followers a strong body of cavalry, and marching together, in good order, till they got to a considerable distance from London. The citizens, who had hoped to surprize her unprepared, were quite disconcerted at finding that their plot was discovered: insomuch that they suffered her, and all who were with her, to escape unmolested, satisfying themselves with the plunder of the goods they had left behind. Probably, it was the too eager desire of that booty which chiefly stopped their pursuit; and Matilda got off from them, as Mithridates is said to have escaped from the Romans, by throwing gold and silver in their way. The king of Scotland, the earl of Gloucester, and the bishop of Winchester went with that princess to Oxford; but most of the other barons separated, and repaired to their several homes, before she got thither. Nor did she stay long in that city; but went to Gloucester, in order to confer with Milo Fitz-walter on the present state of affairs. After some deliberation, they returned together to Oxford, where she now determined to reside. This baron adhered to her in all the changes of fortune, with the most steady fidelity, for which she now rewarded him with the earldom of Hereford. He likewise enjoyed a superior share of her favour and confidence; but was forced to preserve it by a more flattering complaisance, than her true interest and service required:

for

Vid. auctores
citat. ut supra.

Vid. M. T.
Cicero. pra-
tion. pro lege
Manilia.

V. auctores
cit. ut supra.

Book I.

for she would not endure any advice that contradicted her humour; and as he owed so much to her affection, and expected still more, he was content to be her minister upon her own terms; from whence it happened that his great abilities were of much less advantage to her than might have been expected.

The bishop of Winchester had been extremely disgusted for some time; and there is reason to think that the conspiracy at London was formed with his approbation: yet he concealed his resentments a little longer, but in the mean while gave orders that the fortifications of his castle at Winchester should be repaired and augmented, with other precautions, that were necessary to put him in a better condition of openly quarrelling with Matilda. He then made a request to her, which, considering his power in the church and state, the danger of a breach with him, and the obligations she had to him in the eyes of the world, one should have supposed could not have been refused. What he asked was a grant of the earldoms of Mortagne and Boulogne, which Stephen had held before he gained the crown, to his nephew Eustace, that king's eldest son. And surely, if this great prelate could so far give way to reason of state, or rather to the passions and revenge of Matilda, as to acquiesce in her keeping the unfortunate father in prison for life, which she now seemed resolved to do, it was incumbent upon him, by all the obligations

V. auctores
citat. ut suprà.

gations of nature and duty, to shew this regard at least to the innocent son, who had an unquestionable right to his care and protection. One of these earldoms, viz. that of Boulogne, was the inheritance of that prince's mother, and not in the power of the empress; so that the asking her for it was only a compliment, and that of Mortagne was a small boon in return for a crown. Nevertheless she refused it, perhaps from a jealousy she had conceived of the bishop: but however justly she may have suspected him, by denying him a favor so reasonable in itself she hurt her own cause, and gave him a fair pretence to break with her more decently, having the voice of the publick on his side. After this he came no more to her court, though often invited, but had a meeting, at Guilford, with the queen, his sister in law; and there they concerted together all the measures which they thought necessary to procure the restoration of the king. He began by absolving those, whom he had before excommunicated for adhering to that prince, and by his agents and emissaries, sent over the whole kingdom grievous complaints against the empress, affirming that she had treacherously formed a design to seize his person; had broken her oath given to him and all the other barons, and knew not how to use power with moderation. These reports much affected the irritable minds of the people, upon which compassion also worked very power-

powerfully, at this time, in behalf of the king. For the empress, whose temper was naturally vindictive, being exasperated by the danger she had been in at London, and the great loss her party suffered from the revolt of that city, vented her rage on the person of her royal captive, and laid him in irons, like a common malefactor, against the will of her brother, the earl of Gloucester, whom those who flattered her passions accused to her of treating him with too much indulgence. But the ignominious and barbarous usage of a prince, whose dignity she ought to have respected, for the sake of her own, excited such a general indignation against her, as not a little assisted to turn again, on his side, the often varying stream of popular favor. The people of England have always been good-natured. Even the spirit of party has never had force enough to destroy the strong principle of humanity in them. When they were told, that their sovereign was loaded with irons, they forgot all his faults. His sufferings only, and the inhuman arrogance of Matilda, her arbitrary, violent, oppressive conduct, were now the general subjects of their thought and discourse. The present resentment, raised by these, overcame and obliterated, in the minds of the enemies of Stephen themselves, their former rancour against him; while, in his friends, it revived a warmer and more tender sense of all those endearing and amiable qualities, by which he

he had formerly recommended himself to the affection of the publick. The bishop of Winchester, whose eyes were very quick, discerned this change in the temper of the nation, and saw that he should be in danger of losing all his credit, if he did not fall in with it, and act for his brother; which, together with the slights he had received from the empress, and dislike of her behaviour, made him resolve to undo all he had done for her service, and restore the king whom his perfidy had contributed to dethrone. But, as he had not yet taken an open part against her, the earl of Glocester, who knew how detrimental the loss of him would be to Matilda, thought it expedient to try all possible means to regain him to her party: with which intention he made him an amicable visit at Winchester; but after having conferred with him he found him determined, and returning to his sister confirmed her jealousy. Upon the report he made to her, without consulting with him, or letting him into the secret of her design, she went on a sudden to Winchester, with all the force she had at Oxford, except what was necessary to be left there in garrison, hoping to surprize and seize the bishop. But just as she was entering at one gate of the city, he rode out at another, and escaped to his castle; which, by the description we have of it, seems to have been situated close to the walls upon the bank of the river. It was a very strong fortress, well garrisoned, and stored with

Vid. *antiquitates*
citat. ut supra.

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with all necessaries to sustain a long siege, by the care of the bishop, who had prudently foreseen the need he might have of such a timely provision. His escape disconcerted the measures of the empress. Having failed in her intention of taking him by surprize, she sent a message inviting him to come to her court; but he was too prudent to be caught in such a snare. Had she succeeded, it would have been a very dangerous act, so far to violate the privileges of the church in the person of a legate, draw upon herself, not only the enmity of all the English clergy, in whose affection the main strength of her party then lay, but also the formidable resentments of Rome. Her brother's discretion would never have permitted her to act so rashly, and therefore she did not consult him; wilful and violent tempers being afraid of sober advice, even from their best friends. As she had imprudently engaged in this enterprize, so she

A. D. 1141. obstinately pursued it, and resolved to besiege the bishop in his castle; remaining herself in the royal palace of Winchester, which stood upon a hill, without the west-gate, and was then a very strong fortress; but lodging the greater part of her troops in the city, the inhabitants of which were generally inclined to her cause. The forces she had with her not being sufficient for so great an undertaking, she summoned her adherents from all parts of the kingdom. Many of those who had submitted to her after the battle of Lincoln

coln forsook her now, and went over to Stephen; but among those who attended her to this expedition, or who came on her summons, were David king of Scotland, Robert earl of Gloucester, Reginald, another of her natural brothers, whom she had made earl of Cornwall, Baldwin de Redvers earl of Devonshire, Milo earl of Hereford, Roger earl of Warwick, William de Mohun, whom she there rewarded with the earldom of Dorset, Geoffry Boterel, brother to Alan earl of Richmond, and Brian Fitzcomte, lord of Walingford and Abergavenny, who had a very particular share in her favor. The earl of Chester also came, but later than the others, and with very few followers; so that he did her no service, and was even suspected of an inclination to take part with her enemies: a most surprizing change indeed, after all that had passed between the king and him! but he was a man of a light temper: and indeed these were times which produced very few instances of irreconcilable enmities or firm attachments. On the other side, the bishop of Winchester, seeing that the whole power of the empress was collected to make war upon him, called to his assistance all the friends of his brother, who came in such numbers, that they composed an army much stronger than Matilda's. All the earls in England, except those above mentioned, attended his summons, with great troops of their vassals: nor were any of them more forward on this

Vid. auctores
citat. ut supra.

occasion than those who had served so ill at the battle of Lincoln: for they heard themselves continually reproached with the mischiefs their flight had caused, and eagerly sought an occasion of redeeming the honor they had lost on that day. The queen herself marched to Winchester, at the head of the Kentish militia, her constant friends, and of a thousand men at arms, drawn from the city of London, besides archers and pikemen. William of Ipres attended her, with most of the mercenaries, breathing revenge for the inhuman indignities imposed on their gracious and munificent prince, whom they now served, not for hire only, but out of affection, knowing that his favor to them had been his greatest offence to his people. Thus was the utmost strength of both parties assembled, about the city and castle of Winchester, but with a great superiority on the side of the king. The plan formed by his generals was to prevent any provisions from coming to the town, and vanquish the empress by famine, or force her to a battle with very unequal numbers. Accordingly they made themselves masters of all the communications she had with the country, except one, towards the west or north-west, which they could not shut up so closely as the others; but even on that side they rendered the passage of her supplies very difficult, by sending out parties of horse to scour the country, which often intercepted them, and frightened the people from

Vid. auctores
citat. ut supra.

from any intercourse with her. Under these difficulties she still persevered in besieging the legate, who defended his castle with a most undaunted courage, and so little regard to his episcopal character, that, in order to revenge himself on the townsmen, who favored Matilda, he commanded fireworks to be thrown from the battlements of his tower, by which a great part of the city, the most magnificent then in England, and above twenty churches, (or as some authors say) forty, with a nunnery and an abbey, were burnt down to the ground. In the latter of these, which was called the abbey of Hyde and situated without the walls, there was a large cross, covered with plates of pure gold, and richly set with precious stones, the gift of King Canute. This having been damaged by the flames, the bishop of Winchester very freely made use of the gold to pay his troops, and laid up the jewels among his own treasures. The miserable citizens suffered no less by famine than by fire; the few provisions, which sometimes were brought into the town, being all taken from them, for the support of the soldiers quartered among them; nor was there enough to supply these with the necessities of life: so that the earl of Gloucester, apprehending the ruin of his army, resolved to erect a fort near the nunnery of Warewell, upon the river Test, which might facilitate and secure the importation of victuals into the city on that side. Some chosen troops were

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commanded to execute this resolution; but William of Ipres fell upon them with a much greater force; and many having been killed or taken in the action the rest of them retired into the church of the nunnery, and endeavoured to defend themselves, or took it to be which the king's general ordered there: upon all who were in it, thinking that the example of the bishop of Winchester was authority enough to justify him, a layman and a soldier, in the little regard he shewed for the sanctity of the place. This was a terrible blow to Matilda. She saw her army in great danger of being starved, and feared the soon might be reduced to the cruel necessity of yielding herself a prisoner to the wife of that king whom she then held in wife of that misfortune which she dreaded more than death. In such desperate circumstances the boldest counsels were prudent. The bishop having proclaimed a cessation of arms on the eve of Holy-Rood day, after sunset, according to the custom, then observed in the whole Latin church, the earl of Gloucester took that opportunity to endeavour to retire from this fatal situation. But not thinking that he could prudently depend on the enemy's observing the truce, he made such dispositions as, he hoped, would in any event secure the escape of the empress: Having committed her to the special care of his brother, the earl of Cornwall, he sent her out

out of the town, in the van of his army, together with her uncle, the king of Scotland, and most of those friends whose preservation he thought of the greatest importance, ordering them to march about break of day, with all the expedition they could, towards Gloucester, by the way of Ludgershall and the Devises; while he himself, to cover their retreat, followed more slowly; with a rear guard composed of some of the bravest nobility, and of a few chosen troops, which, he believed, would stand by him, against any odds of numbers. It was happy for Matilda and all with her that he took these necessary precautions. The bishop of Winchester was not so scrupulous, as to suffer his enemies to escape without molestation, out of respect to a holy-day; but the moment he got intelligence of their march sent his garrison to pursue them, spreading also the alarm through all the queen's army, which was posted on the other side of the town and in some places near adjacent. They soon joined his forces, and came up with the earl of Gloucester at Stockbridge upon the river Test. That lord made a stand against them at the head of the bridge; but after a long and brave defence, in which Geoffry Boterel distinguished himself beyond all the other knights, the pass was forced, the rear guard defeated, and their general taken prisoner by William of Ipres.

Thus did the earl of Gloucester most generously sacrifice himself to the safety of his

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Vid. auctores
citat. ut suprà

Book I.

sister and sovereign, though she had brought the danger on herself, by her wilful imprudence in acting without his advice. Having retarded the enemy in their pursuit, he enabled her and the main body of his army to escape without any other damage than the shame of having been forced to make a retreat which deserved to be rather called a flight. The empress came unmolested by the enemy to the castle of Ludgershall; but left it in a few hours, and went on horseback, as speedily as her strength would permit, to the Devises; from whence (if some historians of no small authority may be credited) she was carried to Gloucester on a bier, as a dead corpse: but, as William of Malmfbury and the anonymous author of the acts of King Stephen, who would hardly have omitted to mention this circumstance, had it been true, say nothing of it, I think it a fable grounded only on popular rumours, which always add something to every extraordinary and surprising event. It was also a current report, that the king of Scotland was thrice taken prisoner in his flight, and redeemed by some of his friends; his person not being known to the soldiers who took him. A contemporary author relates, that one David Holiford, a godson of that king, who happened to serve at this time in the army of the queen, helped greatly to conceal him from their pursuit. Certain it is, that he made his escape with much difficulty,

culty, and so did the empress. Besides the disgrace she suffered, her brother's captivity was such a misfortune to her, as almost deprived her of any sense of joy in her own preservation. But he himself bore it with the most unshaken fortitude; no action, no word, not even a look, discovering the least dejection of spirit: insomuch that his very enemies were compelled to revere and extol his virtue, which could with such dignity maintain its superiority over all the power of fortune. The queen, who knew, that the ill usage of her husband had been contrary to his advice and desire, would not by chains, or any other inhuman severities, revenge it upon him; but treated him kindly; and made him a proposal, by some principal lords of her party, to set him at liberty, in exchange for Stephen. He replied, that such an exchange would not be equal; the disproportion between a king and an earl being too great: but if they would agree that all his friends whom they had made prisoners, in which number were several barons of distinction, should be freed, together with him, in exchange for the king, he would give his consent to those terms. The queen, who desired the liberty of her husband almost upon any conditions, would have willingly accepted this offer: but William of Ipres, and some other nobles, who expected great ransoms for the prisoners they had taken, opposed it warmly, and obliged her to reject

Book I.

it. She then tried to persuade the earl of Gloucester to forsake the cause of his sister, and join with Stephen; offering him, in the name of her husband, and by orders from him, the supreme administration of all his affairs, and the second place in his kingdom. The answer he made to her was, "I am not in my own power at present. When I am free to dispose of myself, I promise you that I will act, in this respect, as reason shall dictate." Which she rightly understanding to be a refusal, and being angry at his flight of so gracious an offer, made at a time when his sister's fortune was much declined, altered her language, and threatened to send him to Boulogne, and keep him in chains all his life. To this he replied, with a countenance unchanged and serene, "that he feared nothing less." The menace indeed was thrown out only with an intention to frighten him, if he could have been frightened: for the queen durst not execute it, knowing that the countess of Gloucester would not fail to take her revenge, by sending the king, whom she now had in her custody, over to Ireland, the chief monarch of which island would have willingly shewn his particular regard for the memory of King Henry, with whom he had lived in the strictest league of friendship, by keeping Stephen a prisoner, in whatever manner the friends of the earl had desired. As no advantages gained by the queen in England could hinder the coun-

Malmsh. hist.
nov. i. ii. f.
109.

countess from putting this in execution, her husband, whose mind in every situation saw every resource in his power, assumed from hence a more steady resolution, and acted in his prison with as much intrepidity as at the head of his army. But when more than a month had been unsuccessfully spent in these negotiations, Matilda and all the principal lords of her party advised and entreated him to accept the proposal the queen had made, and suffer himself to be singly exchanged for the king: a most extraordinary proof of his merit! there being no other example in history of a captive king set free in exchange for a subject. The earl, who himself could not be insensible of how great importance his liberty was to the support of the party, yielded at length to the importunities of his friends; and his consent was very gladly received by the queen: but all the king's friends insisting, that, out of respect to his royal dignity, he should first be released, some difficulty arose from the apprehensions of the earl, that they might break their faith with him, and detain him in prison: a suspicion which certainly was very well founded on the past conduct of Stephen, who never had seemed to regard either his word or his oath. Many precautions and sureties were necessary to remove this objection. The earl was not satisfied with exacting an oath from the legate and the archbishop of Canterbury, that they would yield themselves prisoners

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A.D. 1141.

Malmfb.
ibidem.

into the hands of his friends; if he was not set at liberty immediately after the release of the king; but obtained from them letters under their hands and seals, by which they notified this oath to the pope; and, if the case should happen, implored his assistance, to deliver both the earl and them from their bonds. Nor was even this esteemed a sufficient security: but either he, or some of his friends who negotiated for him, demanded that the queen and one of her sons, with two principal lords of that party, should be kept in the castle of Bristol as hostages, from the time of the king's being dismissed from thence; till the earl was released: which they likewise agreeing to, Stephen was set free, on the feast of all Saints, in the year eleven hundred and forty one, after a captivity of nine months.

He came from Bristol to Winchester, where he had a conference with the earl of Gloucester, who had been removed from the castle of Rochester to that city, a little before. There he again endeavoured to corrupt the fidelity of the earl, and draw him to his party, by the most splendid offers of favor and power under his government. But that lord remained unmoved by all these allurements, urging the bonds of nature and affection, which attached him to his sister, the obligations of honor, and the oaths he had taken during the life of his father, which the pope had declared to be binding. He said,

said; it was purely his regard to those oaths, not any interested views of his own, or hatred against Stephen, which had induced him to take up arms in the cause of Matilda; and gently reminded the king himself and his friends, that they had likewise repeatedly engaged themselves to her by the same sacred ties, and were therefore no less concerned than he in the decision sent from the pope with regard to the validity of that engagement. Having thus nobly maintained their reputation of integrity which he had acquired, he took leave of the king, and upon his arrival at Bristol set free the queen, the young prince, and the peers, who were detained there till he came; and in return received his son, whom he had left behind him at Winchester, as a hostage for their release.

The two parties having now recovered their chiefs, and not seeing any prospect of an agreement, they both prepared to renew the war with fresh vigour, as soon as the A. D. 1141. season would permit. But, before they could take the field, the bishop of Winchester began operations of a different kind, which were of the greatest advantage to his brother. He summoned a legatine synod at Westminster, on the seventh of December, in the year eleven hundred and forty-one, which he opened by reading a letter from the pope, wherein his Holiness reprimanded him gently, for having acquiesced in his
Malmsh.
et suprâ.
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brother's imprisonment; and, to atone for that fault, enjoined him to endeavour the procuring of his liberty by any means, either ecclesiastical or secular, which the necessity of the affair might require. This not only was sufficient to destroy the impression, which the earl of Gloucester's alledging the authority of the pope in defence of his conduct, and the legate's own behaviour, had made on the clergy and people of England, but gave that prelate a pretence to justify his return to the party of his brother, by the respect which he owed to the injunctions of Rome. He employed all his eloquence to excuse his former proceedings, affirming, that not from inclination but necessity he had received and acknowledged the empress, when, after the battle of Lincoln, she came with her victorious army to Winchester, and found him there unable to make any resistance; all the nobility having abandoned the captive king, or remaining unactive and indifferent between the two parties, till the event should regulate their conduct. He said, that she had afterwards notoriously violated all her engagements in behalf of the liberty and rights of the church, which had been the terms of agreement between her and him; and moreover (as he was assured by undoubted intelligence) had formed secret machinations, with some of her friends, against his dignity, and even against his life; which yet the divine mercy had so over-ruled, that

in the issue he not only had escaped destruction himself, but had also delivered his royal brother from bondage. Therefore, in the name of God and of the pope, he commanded them to aid, support, and maintain, with their whole strength, that prince who had been *by the election of the people and with the consent of the apostolical see* anointed their king; and to excommunicate all those disturbers of the peace of their country who should continue to adhere to the *countess of Anjou*.

Malmsh.
ut supra.

Not one of the clergy assembled in this synod made any reply to this speech, or shewed any publick mark of disapprobation or dissent; so great an alteration had Matilda's offensive behaviour, in the short time between this and the council of Winchester, produced in their minds; or so implicit was the submission which they paid to the legate, and to the papal authority, with which he was invested! But there was in the assembly a layman sent by that princess, who loudly and boldly reminded him of the fidelity which he had sworn to her, adjuring him by it not to do any thing against her honor. Nor did he stop there; but said, that her having come over to England was owing to repeated invitations by letters sent from that prelate; and that his brother's captivity and detention in prison were to be chiefly imputed to his connivance, as he had expressly as-
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fired Matilda, that he would not give him any effectual assistance. Other severe and rough animadversions were thrown out upon his past and present conduct; all which it was certainly very mortifying and painful for him to hear, but which he heard with so perfect a command of his temper, as not to return one angry word, or even to take any notice of what had been said, thinking, no doubt, that it was safer to seem to despise than attempt to confute it. When this extraordinary scene was past, the king came into the council, and made his complaints to them most pathetically, that his own vassals had taken him prisoner, and by the opprobrious indignity with which he was treated had very near killed him, though he never had done them any wrong, nor denied justice to any man in the whole course of his reign. His presence and words greatly affected the synod, and, together with the influence of the legate, made them unanimously concur in all propositions to which that prelate demanded their assent. Stephen, having thus regained the good will of the clergy, seemed to be now in a fair way of recovering his kingdom. But neither party thought it proper to take the field during the winter, or to violate the religious cessation of arms, which it was usual to grant from the beginning of Lent till the end of Easter week. Some part of that time the king employed in visiting the more distant coun-

Malmsh.
et supra.

counties of England, that were under his government, and wanted his presence: while Matilda, who was sensible how much she had lost both of reputation and strength, took that opportunity to assemble her principal friends, in order to consider with them what means could be found, to resist the power of her enemy, which daily grew stronger, and to raise again the dejected hopes of her party. They all agreed, that, in their present circumstances, it was necessary to try to bring over her husband, the earl of Anjou, to England; as the only expedient which could balance the advantages Stephen had gained. Pursuant to this resolution, some nobles of her faction were sent to the earl, whom they found in Normandy; the greater part of that duchy being then subjected to him. They used their utmost endeavours to prevail upon him to come from thence into England, and defend the inheritance of his wife and son, which, without his assistance, was now in the utmost danger of being soon irrecoverably lost. He received them with regard, but said, that he would make no positive answer, unless to the earl of Gloucester, as the person in whom he most confided, and with whom alone he desired to treat on this business. It happened fortunately for Matilda, that, soon after Easter, Stephen was seized with a dangerous fit of sickness, and did not recover till some time after Whitsuntide; which hindered that prince from beginning

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Malmfb. ut
supra.

ning any military operations against her, and gave her leisure to wait for the return of the lords whom she had sent to her husband. They made their report to her on the thirteenth of June, at the castle of the Devises, where she had again assembled her council. The earl of Gloucester declared himself very unwilling to go out of the kingdom, urging against it the danger of passing the channel, which was then guarded by a squadron of the king's ships, and of leaving his sister deprived of his care and assistance, at a time when they were more necessary to her than ever. But being earnestly pressed to go, he consented to it at last, on these conditions, that the chief nobles present there should deliver to him some of their nearest relations, to carry over with him, as hostages for their fidelity in serving his sister, and defending her person, during his absence. Such an extraordinary caution implied a great suspicion, and one may conclude from it, as well as from other circumstances at this time, that her party was in danger of being soon dissolved. The council however agreed, and without any apparent unwillingness, to the security required by the earl, who taking the hostages set sail from Wareham, of which town he was lord, with several ships, and soon after Midsummer gained the port with only two; the others having been dispersed by a violent storm, which saved them all from the greater danger of being attacked in their passage by the enemy's

my's fleet, But before I relate the success he met with in this negotiation, it will be necessary to give an account of the state of the dutchy of Normandy from the decease of King Henry to this time.

It seems surprising, that neither the oaths, which the Normans had taken, during the life of that prince, to his daughter's succession, and after her to her son's, nor the influence of the earl of Glocester, who at the time of his father's death was present among them, could secure to Matilda the inheritance of that dutchy, or even form any considerable party for her there. This is the more wonderful, as we are told by the best of the Norman historians, that no less a sum than sixty thousand pounds, equivalent to nine hundred thousand of our money now, was disposed of by the earl, as executor to the king, from his treasury at Falaise, among his soldiers and servants in that country. So bounteous a donative was enough to have purchased the dutchy for his daughter, though she had not been acknowledged as the heiress of it before. Yet the same author informs us, that immediately afterwards, Thibaud earl of Blois, the elder brother of Stephen, offering himself to the Normans, they were generally disposed to make him their duke: but, as soon as they were informed of Stephen's election to the kingdom of England, they told the earl, *that, on account of the bar-*

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V. Ord. Vital.
l. xiii. p. 901,
902, 903.

ronies which many among them held in both countries, they and the English must serve the same master: the truth of which maxim he either could not deny, or would not contest, but left them to take their own choice. It does not appear that any mention was then made of Matilda, or of her husband. Yet the empress was soon afterwards, by the means of one of her friends, a man of low birth, but very considerable in talents and credit, admitted into some towns, of which he had been made viscount by the favor of her father. The earl of Anjou was also received by the earl of Ponthieu into some places of which that nobleman was the lord, and from thence endeavoured to extend himself further: but his army committing intolerable outrages even against their own friends, the Normans, whose natural temper was not patient of injuries, presently drove him out; and a rebellion in Anjou hindered him, for some time, from any further attempts. After his expulsion from Normandy, that dutchy was left without any government, though it had submitted to Stephen: for that prince was not able to visit, or take any care of it, till the year eleven hundred and thirty seven, during which interval the whole country was desolated by several factions of the nobles, who, with great animosity and miserable ravages of each other's estates, prosecuted their own quarrels under the pretence of serving their party. Among these the most powerful

was Waleran earl of Meulant; whom Stephen had betrothed to one of his daughters, a child of two years old, and, while he himself was in England, put him at the head of his friends and forces in Normandy. About the latter end of September, in the year eleven hundred and thirty six, the earl of Anjou a second time invaded that duchy, with much greater success than before, being now accompanied by the duke of Aquitaine, and other princes of France. They took some castles; but having set down before Monstreuil were soon obliged to raise the siege: and when they had afterwards invested Lisieux, the garrison of that city, despairing to save it, rather than they would surrender it to the earl of Anjou, set it on fire: so great was the aversion of the Normans in general to the Angevin government, from the strong impressions the long wars between the two countries had still left in their minds; and this was much sharpened by the very barbarous manner in which the confederate army now acted: for most of them being volunteers and irregular forces, out of many different provinces, they could not easily be restrained, by the power of their chiefs, from rapine, sacrilege, and other enormities; which, added to the outrages that had before been committed by the Angevin troops, during their late abode in Normandy, excited a violent indignation against them, and totally alienated the hearts of the people from Matilda and:

Ord. Vit.
l. xiii. p. 905;
906, 907, 908.

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her husband. They were, besides, so intemperate, that they soon became very sickly: and, to complete their disasters, the earl of Anjou himself, besieging a castle, received a dangerous wound in one of his feet; which, together with a dysentery that raged in his army, so dispirited him and them, that, although a powerful reinforcement of some thousand men, conducted by the empress in person, arrived that night, they raised the siege the next morning, and retired hastily out of Normandy, plundering the country through which they passed, without distinction of friends from foes. The Norman troops, who were apprised how much the earl had been strengthened, had not the least suspicion of his retiring; and did not begin to pursue him, on the discovery of it, till he had advanced a good way: so that the loss which he sustained in repassing the Sart was not very considerable: but as he travelled through a forest within his own territories he was attacked by a strong party of out-lawed freebooters, and narrowly escaped with his life, his wardrobe and plate being taken and one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber killed. The earl of Meulant likewise defeated some of Matilda's adherents, who had made an incursion into the county of Eu, and took prisoner their general, Roger de Conchis, with two other noblemen of great distinction.

Ord. Vital.

l. xiii. p. 909,
910. sub ann.

1136, 1137.

All these successes, joined to the prosperity of Stephen in England during the course
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of this year, confirmed to that prince the dominion of Normandy, which he at last found time to visit, arriving there with William of Ipres and a body of Flemings, early in the spring of the year eleven hundred and thirty seven. After some stay in the chief cities, he went into France to confer with Louis le Gros, renewed the alliance which his predecessor had made between the two crowns, and received the investiture of the duchy, under the usual form of homage to France. Louis, old and infirm, was inclined to consider possession as the best right, and had good reasons of policy, as king of France, not to be willing that Anjou and Normandy should be under one vassal. It may be also presumed that he was biased in favour of Stephen by the powerful mediation of the earl of Blois; who, having given up his own claim to the duchy, employed, in behalf of his brother, all the influence he had over that prince, who equally feared and esteemed him. Yet, though the consent of the sovereign had thus been obtained to invest the king of England with this great fief, the earl of Anjou did not depart from the pretensions he had to it in right of his wife: but Stephen sent against him a body of his mercenaries under William of Ipres, to which he joined some Norman troops, remaining himself on the other side of the Seine, where he was employed in reducing the castles and towns of one of his barons, who had taken up arms for Matilda.

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William

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Ord. Vit. ut
præ.

William of Ipres desired to give battle to the earl; but the Normans who were with him opposed that advice and even refused their assistance, upon which he and his forces repassed the Seine, and, with heavy complaints against them, returned to the king. The cause of this difference was a jealousy conceived by the Normans against these foreign mercenaries, whom they justly suspected as instruments of arbitrary power, and could not bear to see employed, both in England and Normandy, preferably to the national troops of those countries. Indeed it was a very ungrateful return for the obligations Stephen had to the English and Normans, on whose affection he certainly might have relied at that time, and by whose arms he might have been much better secured against the Angevin party, than he could by this illegal and dangerous force, which seemed designed, not so much to resist the attacks of his enemies, as to overpower the liberties of his subjects. But instead of being warned and convinced of his error by the first symptoms of discontent, he argued from thence that these mercenaries were necessary to him, and placed a greater confidence in them and their general, as being the surest and firmest supports of his power. Nor did he dissemble these thoughts; but treated the nobility of England and Normandy with an apparent distrust, while he lavished his favors upon William of Ipres,
and

and made him his confident in all his most secret affairs. What was the effect of this behaviour in England has already been shewn. It had the same consequences in Normandy; and it was there that the violence of the dissatisfaction arising from it, and the danger of it to Stephen, were first discovered. That prince, upon the return of William of Ipres, immediately put himself at the head of his army, and would have led them to fight the earl of Anjou's adherents, as his favorite had advised: but all the Norman barons, disgusted and irritated at being obliged to serve with the Flemings, appeared very backward, and endeavoured to dissuade the king from his enterprize: but he persisted in it obstinately, against their advice, and marching to the enemy, the animosity between the Normans and Flemings broke out with so much fury, that they came even to blows; and much blood was shed on both sides, before the tumult could be appeased by all the authority or intercessions of Stephen. Nor yet did the sedition end with the combat: for presently afterwards, most of the young Norman barons led off their vassals, and left the king, who, equally agitated with anger and with fear, upon such a desertion, followed them several miles, and coming up with them, expostulated, threatened, entreated and soothed, till in the conclusion they were pacified and reconciled to him: but so much uneasiness remained on both sides

that,

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that, instead of attacking the enemy, he accepted a truce of two years, which the earl of Anjou proposed to him, from motives not explained in the histories of those times. Perhaps the earl had intelligence of a conspiracy forming against himself in Anjou, Touraine, or Maine: for it appears that these provinces were not absolutely free from intestine commotions: or he might seek a delay till the earl of Gloucester had taken all the necessary measures before he declared against Stephen. Without some motive of great weight so able a prince would not have proposed a cessation of arms, when the troops of his enemy were more incensed against each other than against him, and could not be brought into one camp, or made to act together in any joint operations.

Ord. Vit.

l. xiii. p. 111.

sub ann. 1137.

Suger. in vit.

Lud. Groffi.

This truce was concluded in the month of July of the year eleven hundred and thirty seven. On the first of August died at Paris Louis the Sixth, surnamed le Gros, from the corpulence of his person, a much nobler surname might have been properly given to him from the qualities of his mind: He deserved to have been called the Good, or the Just. His whole reign was passed in constant struggles with the insolence, the licentiousness, and the tyranny of his nobles, against whose oppressions he royally defended his people, maintaining his laws by his arms, and permitting no crimes to escape his justice. Thus far

far he much resembled our Henry the First; but in policy he was not a match for that king. Yet he deserves no less esteem: for in goodness of heart he was greatly his superior, and had scarce any equal among all the contemporary princes. He lost his health, and at last his life, by the fatigues he sustained, in besieging castle after castle, where any flagitious or turbulent person had broken or endangered the peace of his realm. Abbot Suger, his principal minister, tells us, that he would often lament the unhappy condition of human life, in which to *know* much, and *act* much, is seldom or never in our power together; adding, that if he had *known* in his youth, what he *knew* in his age, or could *act* in his age with the same vigour as he *acted* in his youth, he should have been able to conquer many kingdoms. Yet that historian affirms, that, even in the latter years of his reign, broken as he was with incessant toils, and heavy from a too corpulent habit of body, if any thing happened in any part of his kingdom, by which the royal majesty was hurt or offended, he never suffered it to continue unchastised. His dying words to his son were admirable. *Remember*, said he, *and have it always before your eyes, that the royal authority is a publick charge, of which you must render, after your death, a strict account.* In the year eleven hundred and thirty-one he unfortunately lost his eldest son Philip, a very hopeful youth; who while he

Suger. in vit.
Lud. Groffi.
p. 319.

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was riding in the suburbs of Paris, was thrown down and killed, by a hog running suddenly under the feet of his horse. The strangeness of the accident aggravated the loss, and put the fortitude of the father to a terrible proof; but he bore it with the heroism of a good christian and a great king. His grief did not hinder him from immediately thinking of the most proper measures to guard his people and family against the ill consequences of this unhappy event. For, presently afterwards, Innocent the Second holding a general council at Rheims in Champagne, the afflicted monarch brought Louis, his second son, to that city, and caused him, in the presence of all the assembly, to be anointed and crowned king, though under thirteen years old, by the hands of the pope, *in order (says Suger) to prevent the disturbances which other competitors for the crown might excite*: remarkable words, which shew the reason of the practice established in France of crowning the son during the life of the father, and prove that a regular course of hereditary succession was not yet absolutely settled in that kingdom, any more than in England. This is also confirmed by another contemporary historian, who says, “That many both of the clergy and laity were displeased with this act; for some of the lay-peers had conceived hopes of a higher advancement after the death of Louis le Gros, and the ecclesiasticks de-
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V. Suger. in
vita Ludov.
Grossi Regis.
p. 319,

V. Ord. Vit.
l. xiii. p. 895.
896.

“fired to have an opportunity of exercising
“*the right of electing a king.* From which
“causes several among them murmured in
“secret against this measure, and would
“undoubtedly have been glad to prevent it,
“if it had been in their power.” He afterwards says, *That there were some who attempted to exclude all the issue of the king from the throne.* I shall only observe, that if this account be well founded, the reason for it must probably have been the minority of the king’s children; as no other objection could be made against them. But the young prince being thus crowned without any declared opposition, France was quiet for some time; and as soon as he came to an age of maturity, he gained more by a marriage, than all the greatest of his royal predecessors, since Charlemagne, had won by the sword. For William the Ninth, duke of Aquitaine, having died without issue male, in the spring of the year eleven hundred and thirty seven, bequeathed his dominions to Eleanor, his eldest daughter, who was then about thirteen years old, and declared, it was his desire, *if his barons agreed to it*, that she should be given in marriage to the young king of France: which being confirmed by their consent, the offer was made before the death of Louis le Gros. That prince and his son accepted it with joy, as they had great reason to do; for nothing could be more advantageous to France than uniting to the crown those extensive

Book I.

Suger. p. 321.
Ord. Vital. p.
911. l. xiii.

See Mabillon
de re diplo-
matica.

tensive dominions, which at this time comprehended the two dutchies of Gascony and Guienne, the earldom of Poictou, the province of Biscaye, and some other countries at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains. Eleanor herself was pleased with the match; for Louis was handsome; and she was by no means insensible either to love or ambition. Her face was agreeable, her person majestick, her wit lively and sharp, her temper gay and inclining to levity; which the genius of the French nation was more disposed to pardon than any other fault. All parties therefore concurring to approve of this marriage, it was celebrated at Bourdeaux, in the presence of most of the nobility of Aquitaine; Eleanor at the same time being crowned queen of France: after which Louis and she went together to Poitiers, where, on the eighth of August eleven hundred and thirty seven, he received the coronet of the dukes of Guienne, and ordered the title of DVX AQUITANICVS to be engraved on his seal; it being understood that his marriage gave him the entire possession and government of all the territories which belonged to his wife. Some lords of Xaintonge refused indeed to submit to him; but they were subdued by him, without difficulty, as he passed through their country, and forced to concur with the other barons of Aquitaine, in paying obedience to the testamentary settlement made by their duke. Thus did this young prince

prince acquire these dominions, the masters of which had vied, in power and wealth, with the kings of France, their sovereigns, and being descended from Childebrand, brother of Charles Martel, thought themselves equal, at least, in their genealogy, to the race of Hugh Capet. But his father had not the pleasure of seeing him after his marriage; the heat of the summer, which was more violent than had ever been known in those parts, and could hardly be endured by the strongest constitutions, having so impaired his weak health, that he died from the effects of it, in the sixtieth year of his age and the thirtieth of his reign, after extraordinary acts of contrition and penitence, which not so much the faults of his life, as the tenderness of his conscience, and some superstition mixed with his piety, made him impose on himself. During the autumn that followed the decease of this king Normandy was disturbed by civil commotions, which the truce lately concluded between Stephen and Geoffry did not appease, though it enabled the former to settle his power more firmly there, than he could possibly have done without that advantage. Before the end of the year he was obliged to return into England, and leave his dutchy under the government of two Norman barons; one of whom, being soon afterwards drawn into an ambush by some nobles of the Angevin party, was slain; but the other maintained his

Ord. Vid.
l. xiii. p. 911.
916.

his trust, with spirit and good conduct, till May the next year, when William of Ipres and the earl of Meulant, arriving with more forces, took the chief command and authority in those parts. It was a strange obstinacy in the king to persist in employing the former of these lords, where he was so disagreeable : but it is the fate of weak princes to think that they are never so well served as by those, of whose authority their people complain the most, and to make the publick hatred a ground of their confidence ; as if such persons, having no other strength or protection to depend upon for support, must belong more to them, and be more devotedly attached to their interest. This, with the vanity of supporting the choice he had made, determined Stephen to continue his English and Norman affairs under the management of William of Ipres, though he had such evident proofs of the dissatisfaction it produced in both countries. The earl of Meulant indeed was less odious to the Normans, as not being a foreigner ; but neither was he much beloved, being a man who had more pride than greatness of mind, and more cunning than wisdom. The arrival of these ministers, whose unpopularity hurt their party, as much as the force they brought over with them could do it good, did not prevent the earl of Gloucester from executing the plan, which he had for some time been forming. About the beginning of

of June he took up arms, and joined the earl of Anjou, who, regardless of the truce, which was not yet expired, came into Normandy, and by means of that nobleman's intelligence with him got possession of Bayeux, Caen, and several other towns: but the king's troops having been strengthened by a large reinforcement, he retired again into his own dominions, leaving the towns, which he had gained, well secured with good garrisons, under the care of the earl of Glocester. All the abilities of that lord were now employed in persuading the Norman nobility to follow his example in the part he had taken; and by his authority, added to the strong instigation of their own discontents, some of them were induced to forsake the king: but a majority adhered to him, either for fear of losing their English estates, or out of dislike to the earl of Anjou, who, though he was a prince of great merit, had not found the art of gaining their affections. During the autumn of this year, the king being detained by the troubles in England, and his two generals recalled from Normandy to his assistance, Geoffry, made other attempts on that dutchy, but failed in his enterprizes and returned home with some dishonor. Things remained therein much the same situation; both factions keeping possession of the towns they had got, from whence they infested the whole country; the barons making a cruel war on each other;

Ord. Vital.
sub ann. 1138.

Book I.

Gerv. Chron.

p. 1350.

H. Huntingd.

l. viii. f. 223.

Brompton

Chron. p.

1027.

other; and the people being equally ruined by all; till February in the year eleven hundred and forty, when a very important alteration was made, with relation to this dutchy, by Stephen and France. For the former, by means of the treasure he had taken from the bishop of Salisbury, obtained of Louis le Jeune the princess Constantia, a sister of that king, and with her, by way of dower, the investiture of Normandy, for his eldest son Eustace, desiring to make over to him his own title, in hopes that the French monarch would do more to support the claim of a brother-in-law, than Louis le Gros had done for him. He certainly might expect to draw great advantages from such an alliance, not only in Normandy, but also in England; and might think he did not purchase it at too dear a rate, though, instead of the lady's bringing a portion to his son, he was forced to procure the match by a very large sum, which he could but ill afford, besides divesting himself of the dutchy. Nevertheless the king of France went no further than to mediate between him and Matilda, till after the battle of Lincoln; nor even then did he give any effectual assistance to him or his son. Eustace, unaided by that prince, and not come to an age of maturity, could do nothing for himself; and the Normans considered his party as absolutely ruined by the defeat of his father. Yet so very unwilling were most of them to submit

Ord. Vital.

l. xiii. p. 923.

sub ann. 1141.

mit to Matilda, or to her husband, that, as soon as ever the news of Stephen's captivity was brought into Normandy, the archbishop of Rouen and all the principal barons offered their dutchy once more to the earl of Blois, and proposed to assist him in subduing England: a proposal too extravagant, as well as too odious, to be received by the earl, who would have incurred the detestation of all mankind, by coveting the spoils of his brother and nephew, instead of aiding them in their calamity. But even some parts of Normandy were not, at that time, in the power of those who made him this offer; and there was no prospect of success in an attempt upon England, where he would have been equally opposed by both parties. He therefore refused to engage in such undertakings, unfit for a prince of his reputation; but ably availed himself of the overtures made to him on the part of the Normans, to treat with the earl of Anjou, whom he agreed to acknowledge, both as duke of Normandy and king of England, on condition that he should give up the city of Tours, to which the earls of Blois had an ancient claim, set Stephen free, and restore to him all the possessions, he had enjoyed before he was made king. None of these articles were performed by the earl of Anjou, who had not indeed the power of executing that part of the treaty which related to Stephen. Nevertheless the earl of Blois persevered

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Chron. Norm.

p. 979, 980.

Ord. Vital.

l. xiii. p. 923.

Gerv. Chron.

p. 1857. sub

ann- 1142.

Malmsh. hist.

nov. f. 109,

110.

persevered in his purpose, not to embroil himself in the troubles of Normandy. Geoffrey, being therefore secure on that side, and acting with vigour, while the Normans were stunned and dispirited by the success of Matilda in England, made himself master of a great part of the duchy, either by force, or by agreement with some of the nobles, who, upon terms of advantage stipulated for themselves, gave up to him what they found they could not defend. But many places of strength continued in the custody of Stephen's adherents, who, being encouraged by the favorable change of affairs that happened in England, were still unsubdued when the earl of Gloucester came over from thence into Normandy, sent by Matilda, to negotiate with her husband. The earl of Anjou received him with all possible marks of esteem and affection: but, being pressed by him to go, without delay, into England, as the only expedient left of supporting the cause of his wife and son in that realm, he excused himself from it, by pleading the danger of withdrawing his person or forces from Normandy, while so large a portion of that duchy yet remained unreduced. The earl of Gloucester, to remove this objection, attended him into the field, and served under his orders, till they had taken ten castles, among which were some of great importance. But Rouen, the capital city, was still in the power of their enemies;

and Geoffry esteemed his possession of Normandy neither compleat nor secure, till that was subdued. He alledged other causes for his not being inclined to pass the sea, particularly the fear of a rebellion in Anjou, which he had some grounds to expect, if he removed too far from the borders of that earldom. There was perhaps, a secret reason, which had more weight in his mind than all other objections, viz. the difficulty of settling with Matilda herself and the barons of England, what share of royalty should be given to him in and over that kingdom. For neither was she of a temper to part with the sovereignty vested in her by the will of her father, nor did he like to reside there as her subject; and none of the English had yet expressed the least inclination to receive him as their king. This in all probability had before made him unwilling to go into that kingdom, and was the chief cause of his backwardness at this time. That he desired the title of king of England appears from the treaty he made with the earl of Blois; and when he sent for the earl of Gloucester, it might be with an intention to sound him on that point, which, by the influence of this lord over his sister and her party, he might hope to gain at that crisis. But it may be presumed, that when he had conferred with him upon the affair, he found no encouragement; and this might well produce a disgust, which, together with the unsettled condition of Nor-

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mandy,

Malmsh. hist.
nov. l. ii. f.
110.

Gerv. Chron.
sub ann. 1142.
Malmsh. hist.
nov. l. ii.
f. 110.
H. Huntingd.
l. viii. f. 225.
Gest. Steph.
Regis, l. ii.
p. 958. 959.

mandy, and his dread of troubles in Anjou determined him to refuse the request of Matilda. All that her brother could prevail upon him to do, after much intercession, was to send over Prince Henry Plantagenet, his eldest son, then between eight and nine years old, to encourage and animate his party in England by the sight of a prince, to whom they had sworn allegiance when he was in his cradle, and who could not yet have given them any offence. This was the more wanting, as they were alienated so much from his mother by her ill conduct, besides the objections which the nation in general had to her government on account of her sex. To give a new and better object of hope to the wife, and zeal to the multitude, was doubtless good policy. But, while the earl of Gloucester was employed in persuading the earl of Anjou, by these and other reasons, to let him carry over the young prince into England, he was obliged by the ill news he received from that country to hasten his return to it; the events, which had happened during his absence, having shewn that his apprehensions upon leaving his sister, to go into Normandy, had been well founded. For very soon afterwards, the king, having entirely recovered his health, and seeking to revenge the ill usage he had suffered, prosecuted the war with great vigour. He felt the advantage he had in the earl of Gloucester's being out of the kingdom, and improved

ved it to the utmost. His first enterprise was against Warham castle, which, being but weakly garrisoned, was soon taken. He then marched into Gloucestershire, came on a sudden to Cirencester, surprised the castle and burnt it to the ground. From thence he proceeded with equal celerity to two other castles, situated on the road between Cirencester and Oxford, which Matilda had fortified as out-guards and barriers, for her greater security during her abode in that city. The strongest of these he took by storm, the other by capitulation; and, having thus opened his way to Oxford, unexpectedly appeared before the town. According to an historian who lived in those days, it was then surrounded by waters so as to be thought inaccessible, and was further secured by the best fortifications in use at that time. The castle and tower, which covered one side of it, were accounted impregnable; and there the empress resided: so that neither she nor her council apprehended any danger; especially as they thought the king at a distance, and had no idea that he could with such expedition have reduced all the forts which barred his way. When his army was seen upon the outward bank of the river, before the walls of the town, the garrison sallied out, and confidently supposing that it could not be passed, advanced to the brink of it, from whence their archers securely infested his

Gest. Steph.
Reg. P. 958.
l. ii.

Gest. Steph.
Reg. P. 959.
l. ii.

cavalry with showers of arrows, and some among them derided him in a scurrilous manner. Incensed at their insolence, he pointed out to his soldiers a part of the river, where he remembered that there had been a ford, and setting spurs to his horse courageously plunged into it himself. The whole cavalry followed, and though even there the water was so deep, that it forced the horses to swim, they passed it safely, and charging the enemy, who stood motionless, from their astonishment at the boldness of this attempt, immediately broke them; and not only drove them into the town, but entered it with them; and after they had set fire to several parts of it, killed or took prisoners most of the garrison: those only escaping, who were able to gain admittance into the castle.

This was much the most spirited action, that on either side had been done in the whole course of the war; and by the happy success of it Stephen saw himself, almost in an instant, possessed of a city, which it must have cost him the labour of many months to reduce by the tardy approaches of a regular siege. But what gave him most joy was the hope, that, in consequence of this fortunate temerity, he should make the imperious Matilda his captive, after having been her's. For he held her shut up in the castle, as in a prison, and assured himself that at length he should be master of that fortress, either by

force or by famine. To have the advantage of both methods, he assaulted it furiously with battering engines, and at the same time shut up all access to it from the country by closest blockade. The barons, who had pledged their faith to the earl of Gloucester, that they would guard his sister from all danger during his absence, seeing her now so unhappily exposed by their negligence, assembled at Wallingford, and there resolved to fight with Stephen, if by any means they should draw him into the field: but he wisely continued his siege, without accepting the battle which they offered; nor durst they attack him within the fortifications with which he was covered: he was in no want of provisions, the town being full of them; and they found it impossible to prevent him from receiving any supplies he might want, by his communication with London, as he commanded the whole country between that city and Oxford: so that, after several vain consultations about it, they drew off their forces, leaving Matilda in despair of any relief. But her invincible spirit made her hold out beyond their hopes, professing death to captivity, and animating her garrison, which was chiefly composed of the knights and officers of her household, with her own courage. She was in this situation, when the news of her danger reached the earl of Gloucester, who thereupon took a hasty leave of the earl of Anjou, and with

Malmsh. hist.
nov. l. ii.
f. 110.
Gest. Steph.
Reg. p. 959.

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Prince Henry, his nephew, set sail for England. His voyage was prosperous, and he arrived, with a force of between three and four hundred knights, in his own port of Wareham, about the beginning of November, in the year eleven hundred and forty two. He found the castle in that town possessed by a garrison of the king's troops, who agreed to yield it to him at the end of three weeks, if their master did not relieve it before that term. But neither the loss of this place, nor any other detriment his party might suffer, appeared to Stephen a sufficient motive to abandon the great object he had in view. He determined, and publicly declared to his friends, that he would not depart out of Oxford, nor send away any detachment of his forces from thence, on any account whatsoever, till the castle was surrendered to him, and the empress herself delivered into his hands. The garrison of Wareham, upon receiving this answer, gave up the fort; and the earl of Gloucester soon afterwards took the isle of Portland, which Stephen had fortified, and also Lulworth castle. As neither William of Ipres, nor any other nobleman on the king's side, made head to oppose him, it may be presumed that they were all employed with that prince in besieging Matilda, except those to whose charge his most important towns and fortresses were committed. Indeed the length of the civil war had by this time so exhausted the

the strength of the kingdom, and garrisons were to be found for so many castles, that a thousand men at arms are spoken of by historians as a great army. The force which the earl of Gloucester had brought over from Normandy, joined to some of his vassals, was therefore sufficient to give him a superiority upon that coast; but none of these conquests were of much use to the party, while the person of the empress continued in danger. The danger, which every moment grew more alarming, as she had now been besieged above two months, and began to suffer great distress for want of provisions. Sensible of this, her brother exerted all his power with the party, to induce them to make an extraordinary effort, and risk the attacking of Stephen within Oxford walls, rather than permit him to accomplish his purpose of taking Matilda. He sent a general summons to all her adherents to meet him at Cirencester, declaring his intention to lead them directly to Oxford. They came at his call, admitted the necessity of what he proposed, and were on their march to put it in execution, when, to their infinite surprize and joy, they heard she was safe in the castle of Wallingford.

Vid. auctores citat. ut supra.

But what means this very wonderful escape and effect? we are not well informed. The contemporary author of the *Acts of King Stephen* says, that the empress, reduced to the utmost extremity for want of all food and

Geist. Steph. Reg. l. ii. p. 959.

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necessaries of life, and despairing of succour, went out of the castle, by night, accompanied only by three knights of her household, whom for their prudence she chose to be her attendants upon this occasion, without the knowledge of the rest of her garrison; and being conducted by one of the enemy's army, whom she had gained, passed over the Thames, which then happened to be frozen so hard as to bear, and through the midst of the king's troops, which were posted very thick on the other side of the river, till with great labour and difficulty she got safe to Abingdon, after having walked almost six miles, through a deep snow. Some authors later than this, yet near to those times, have added this circumstance, that she and all her attendants were cloathed in white linen, to be less distinguished in the snow, and the more easily escape observation. But William of Malmesbury, who was most likely to know the truth, confesses his ignorance as to the circumstances of her escape, and says, all he could learn with certainty about it was, that upon the alarm of the earl of Gloucester's approach, many of the king's forces at Oxford deserted, and the rest became more negligent than they had been before, in keeping watch about the castle; their thoughts not being so much employed on that object as on the battle they expected to fight: that this was observed by the citizens, who, favouring the empress, gave her intelligence of

V. H. Hunt.
l. viii. f. 225.
Gerv. Chron.
ut Hoveden.
ann. p. 1, sub
ann. 1142.
Brompton
p. 1032.
Neubrigensis,
l. i. c. 10.
Malmsh. hist.
nov. l. ii.
p. 110.

of it by some means or other; upon which she went out of a postern gate, with four knights, passed the river Thames, and walked on foot as far as Abingdon, where she took horse, and rode from thence to Wallingford castle. The same historian says in another place, that many persons had joined the king's army at Oxford, more out of greediness to obtain a share in the booty they expected to find in the castle, than enmity to the empress. Among these it is very probable some were corrupted, to suffer her to pass by their posts unmolested. Upon the whole we have certainly reason to suspect, that there was a secret in this affair which never was published, and more than one traitor in the army of Stephen. Otherwise he might justly be accused of such negligence, as would be unpardonable in a commander, and can hardly be supposed in one of his active and vigilant character.

Matilda had often been saved beyond all hope, just when she seemed on the very brink of destruction; and her former escapes out of Arundel castle, London, and Winchester, were not so surprising as this: but whatever obligations she had in it to fortune, she owed yet more to her own dauntless and masculine courage. Indeed she had a mind which could not bear prosperity, but which adversity could not conquer. That spirit which power rendered haughty and insolent, was intrepid in danger and great in misfortune.

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Gerv. Chron.
p. 1358. sub.
ann. 1142.

See Malmfb.
f. 98.

fortune. As soon as Stephen was informed of her being at Wallingford, he offered terms to the garrison of the castle of Oxford, which they accepted, and immediately surrendered it to him: an acquisition of consequence, and which, if he had not lost a greater prize, would have been matter of great joy and triumph to his party. During the rest of the winter all was quiet, and the empress was paid for all that she had suffered, by the sight of her son, whom the earl of Gloucester brought to her at Wallingford Castle. He was afterwards carried to Bristol, and continued there four years, under the care of his uncle, who trained him up in such exercises as were most proper to form his body for war, and in those studies which might embellish and strengthen his mind. The earl of Gloucester himself had no inconsiderable tincture of learning, and was the patron of all who excelled in it: qualities rare at all times in a nobleman of his high rank, but particularly in an age when knowledge and valour were thought incompatible, and not to be able to read was a mark of nobility. This truly great man broke through that cloud of barbarous ignorance, and, after the example of his father King Henry, enlarged his understanding and humanized his mind by a commerce with the muses, which he assiduously cultivated, even in courts and camps, shewing by his conduct how useful it was both to the statesman and

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Book I.



and the general. The same love of science and literature he infused into his nephew, who under his influence began to acquire what he never afterwards lost, an ardour for study and a knowledge of books not to be found in any other prince of those times. Indeed the four years which he now passed in England laid the foundation of all that was afterwards most excellent in him; for his earliest impressions were taken from his uncle, who, not only in learning, but in all other perfections, in magnanimity, valour, prudence, and all moral virtues, was the best example that could be proposed to his imitation. Nor was it a small advantage to him that he was removed from the luxury of a court, and bred up among soldiers in the constant practice of chivalry, which gave a manly turn to his mind, and made him despise a life of effeminate sloth. In this situation the earl of Gloucester was able to keep from him the smooth poison of flattery, and the first lessons he learned were those of truth. While he was thus formed to greatness by a good education, the kingdom he was born to inherit was fought for, with alternate success, by the empress his mother, and Stephen. So many sudden, and wonderful changes of fortune, as both of these experienced, during the course of this war, are not to be found in any other history, and hardly in any well-invented romance. The great superiority that Stephen had gained in
the

See Petri Ble-
sensii epist.
66.

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

the year eleven hundred and forty two seemed to promise him a decisive success in the next, notwithstanding the escape of Matilda from Oxford. But the event was not answerable

Gerv. Chron.
Feb ann. 1143.

to these expectations. For, after a vain attempt on Wareham castle, which ended only in ruining the country about it, by the barbarous ravages of his mercenary troops, he endeavoured to build a fort at Wilton, or rather to fortify a nunnery there, which was conveniently situated to bridle the excursions of the garrison of Sarum, and of other castles and towns that were held for the empress in that part of the realm. The profanation was authorised by the bishop of Winchester, who, at the head of his vassals, attended the king his brother upon this service, to which all the barons of their party were summoned and many came; but while the rest were on their march, the earl of Gloucester, who diligently watched all the motions that the enemy made, collected his friends, and before those supplies could join the king came suddenly upon him at Wilton, and attacked him with so much spirit, that the greater part of his army was instantly routed. He would himself have been either slain, or again taken prisoner, if the brave William Martel, his seneschall, had not made a stand for some time, with a few of his own vassals, against the whole force of the enemy, and stopped them till the king and his brother had escaped: but after

Gest. Steph.
Reg. l. ii.

p. 959, 960.
Neubrigtonis,
l. i. c. 10.

having

having done the utmost that valour over-
powered by numbers could do, he was
forced to yield himself prisoner, and could
not obtain his liberty from the empress, till
he had surrendered to her his castle of Shir-
burn, accounted at that time one of the keys
of the realm. All Stephen's baggage, the
gold and silver plate belonging to his table,
and other rich utensils of his household, were
taken and plundered. It happened well
for him that the action did not begin till
after dusk; so that darkness coming on
assisted his flight. But the dishonor and ill
consequences of such a defeat he could not
escape. They were so detrimental to him,
that his son afterwards, the lately dejected
Matilda saw herself mistress of one half of
the kingdom.

Not was it in England only that fortune
now seemed to smile upon her party. Dur-
ing the course of this year the earl of Anjou
got possession of the city of Rouen, and as-
sumed to himself the style and title of duke
of Normandy, which duchy he appears to
have held independently of Matilda; and
not in her name, but his own. Yet the
oaths which the Normans had taken in the
last time of her father, with regard to the
succession, had been to her, not to him, and
after her to her son. But it was generally
understood in those days, that, when the
succession to a fief devolved on a woman,
the administration and profits of it, if she
could not have it herself, were to be
granted

Chron. Norm.
p. 981. sub.
ann. 1143.

V. Crag. Feu-
dorum, l. i.
t. 11. c. 4.
p. 116.

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V. Crag. Feu-
dorum, l. ii.
tit. 14. p. 170.

had a husband, belonged to him, in virtue of the marriage. And this properly arose from the genius of fiefs, which requiring the performance of services to which women were by nature unsuitable, the husband was on that account, preferred to the wife. The whole sex indeed had been excluded from fiefs in their original institution; but although that principle was now departed from, or at least not universally and strictly observed, the reason of it continued to prevail so far, as to transfer all the rights and feudal duties of the wife to the husband, wherever a fief was allowed, in case of the want of heirs male, to descend to a female. It even extended to some kingdoms; as, for instance, to that of Jerusalem, which was governed by Fulk earl of Anjou, the father of Geoffry, in virtue of his marriage. But it does not appear that the English nation ever received this rule of law with regard to the crown, though they did, at this time, with regard to private estates.

Chron. Norm.
sub ann. 1143.

Among the Norman nobility, who assisted Geoffry in besieging the castle of Rouen, was Waleran earl of Meulant; which is very surprising; as that earl had been always, next to William of Ipres, in the highest degree of confidence and favor with Stephen, who particularly employed him in his Norman affairs. From what cause of disgust, or what temptation of interest, he now abandoned the king, and joined

joined with the earl of Anjou, we are not informed. He, and his half-brother, the earl of Warren and Surrey, had been among the most forward in bringing aid to the queen, after her husband's captivity; and the latter was still firm in endeavouring to support the cause of that prince, both in England and Normandy: for the castle of Rouen was defended by his soldiers against the earl of Anjou, till they were compelled by famine to give it up; and, even when that was surrendered, another fortress in Normandy was held for the king, by mercenary troops in the pay of that lord. But it was soon forced to capitulate; the earl of Anjou attacking it, not only with his own forces, but with those of his brother-in-law, the earl of Flanders, and of his sovereign, the king of France, who both came personally to aid him in this siege.

Sec. Ord. Vin.
l. xiii. p. 924.

Chron. Norm.
sub ann. 1143.
1144.

It must appear very marvellous, that Louis, whose sister was wife to Stephen's son, and who had invested that prince with the duchy of Normandy, in consideration both of his marriage and of a great sum of money given by Stephen, should assist the earl of Anjou to take it from him! In order to account for this unnatural and scandalous conduct, it will be necessary to relate some transactions, which happened in France, from the time when he espoused his sister to Eustace, till he engaged in this war against him.

London

At

Cron. Nangii.
Herimannus
in Spicilegio.
S. Bernardi
epist.

Nangius in
chronico ad
ann. 1141.

Pere Daniel
histoire de
France Louis
vii. sub ann.
1141.

At the end of the year eleven hundred and forty, Innocent the Second, then pope, upon an appeal from the chapter of Bourges about the election of their archbishop, nominated and consecrated Pierre de la Châtre, a creature of his own, without the consent of the king, and against a choice to which he had given the royal approbation. Louis, incensed at so daring an invasion of the rights of his crown, publicly swore, that, as long as he lived, he never would admit the prelate so nominated into that see; but he permitted the chapter to elect any other. This was no little concession; yet it was far from satisfying the pope, who ordered Pierre de la Châtre to go immediately to his see, in spite of the king, and promised to support him by the papal authority; saying, "that Louis was a young prince who needed instruction, and must be taught by wholesome corrections not to take the liberty of thus interfering in ecclesiastical matters: for elections would not be free, if a prince might be suffered to give an exclusion to any of the candidates, unless he could prove the unsuitness of the person he excluded before the ecclesiastical judge; in which case he might be heard as well as another." *Such* (says father Daniel) *was the manner, in which the popes of those times behaved themselves towards princes, very different from that of their ancient predecessors, as well as of most of their successors. It is evident*

evident from these words, that he, though a
 Frenchman, was too good a Frenchman, and too
 intelligent an historian, not to see, that
 neither the language nor the conduct of In-
 nocent in this affair could be decently justi-
 fied. But one of the *saints* of his church,
 the famous Bernard, then abbot of Clairvaux,
 was of a different mind, and acted the part
 of a most furious incendiary upon this oc-
 casion, calling on the pope to deliver the
 church from the oppression it suffered, to repress
 with an apostolical vigour the authors of the
 evil, together with their chief, whose will had
 been by law; and to make his iniquity fall
 upon his own head. So very prone to rebel-
 lion was the zeal of those times!

V. S. Bernardi
 di epist. 216.
 ad Innocen-
 tium Papam.

Innocent, encouraged by these instiga-
 tions, threatened the king with excommuni-
 cation, and proceeded so far to carry his
 menaces into execution, that he put the
 royal demesne under an interdict; and some
 vassals of the crown took up arms, in con-
 cert with him, against their sovereign; par-
 ticularly the earl of Blois, who, at the de-
 sire of his Holiness, gave the archbishop,
 Pierre de la Châtre, a retreat in his terri-
 tories. The mischiefs brought on the whole
 kingdom by this civil war were so great and
 grievous, that Bernard himself thought it
 necessary to turn mediator, and entreated
 the pope to shew the king some indulgence, out
 of regard to his youth, his passion, the royal
 majesty, and the public oath he had taken; yet

V. Othon.
 Frisigenf.
 Chron. I. vii.
 c. 21.
 S. Bernard,
 epist. 219.

on such terms, as might for the future restrain him effectually from such a presumption; saving the ecclesiastical liberty, and the rights of the archbishop, whom his Holiness had consecrated. By throwing in these restrictions he made his intercession a mere matter of form, decent with regard to himself, but useless to the king, who was far from being disposed to submit to conditions so disadvantageous to him. Innocent was determined to grant him no better; though to his friendship and protection he had been, in a great measure, obliged for the popedom. The see of Rome had gained immensely from the gratitude of princes for services done them in their temporal interests, but never had lost any thing by its own gratitude for any obligations or favors received. Innocent therefore acted upon the same principles as all his predecessors, in forgetting how much he owed to the king of France, when a question arose on a point wherein the power of the church was concerned. But, while this dispute was supported on both sides with great animosity, Louis was exasperated against the earl of Blois from another cause. The earl of Vermandois, who was nearly related in blood to the king and high in his favor, had fallen violently in love with Petronilla, the queen's younger sister, and one of the most beautiful women in France. To gratify his passion, he determined to procure a divorce from his wife, who was a niece of the earl of

Chron. Nan-
gii.

Heriman. in
Spicilegio.
Bernard. epist.
217.

Histoire de
Suger, l. vi.

Pere Daniel.

of Blois, and by whom he had children, upon the usual pretence of too near a relation. This being concerted between him and his mistress, he found means to engage an assembly of French bishops to declare his marriage null; and wedded her, the next morning, with the consent of the king and queen. But whether it happened that the affinity was not well proved, or that the pope had not been applied to before-hand for his approbation, or that the interest of the earl of Blois, in behalf of his niece, was more powerful at Rome than that of her husband, the consent of that see to this scandalous proceeding could not be obtained. Nor was it generally approved in France. The abbot of Clairvaux inveighed against it with extraordinary fervour; and his judgment was of great moment: for he had the art of reconciling two characters which seem incompatible, that of a man extremely busy in the affairs of the world, and that of a rigid recluse. By the austerity of his manners, and by an intrepid freedom of speech, joined to more eloquence, learning, and dexterity, than any other clergyman of that age was endowed with, he had gained such an authority, that not only the people, but many of the princes, and even the popes, contemporary with him, deferred to his counsels. As he lived in great intimacy with the earl of Blois, his regard to that friendship might naturally encrease the

Epistol. Bernard. 217.

Cron. Nan.
Hermani in
Spicil.
Bernardiepist.
220, 221, 222,
224, 226.

F 2

warmth

warmth of his zeal against this transaction, by which the family of the earl was dishonored. But whatever his motives might be, the part he took was very becoming to a man of his character; and his credit at Rome was well employed, in exhorting the pope to correct the earl of Vermandois, and the lady he called his wife, with the utmost severity of ecclesiastical discipline. Nor were those exhortations ineffectual. They were both publicly excommunicated by the pope's legate: and the bishops who had annulled the former marriage were suspended. But the king of France, who considered this sentence as disgraceful to his own honor, attacked the earl of Blois, whom he thought the author of it, and soon reduced him to sue for peace; which he obtained, by the mediation of Bernard and the bishop of Soissons, upon condition, that he should prevail with his Holiness to absolve the earl of Vermandois. Accordingly, the legate was persuaded to take off the censures, in deference to his intercession: but that lord refusing obstinately to part with his new wife, they were laid on again, by the pope himself; which Louis repented, and complained bitterly against the earl of Blois, for having thus deceived him and broken his faith. Indeed it evidently appears from a letter of Bernard, that, when the earl promised to obtain the absolution, he did it, with an intention of duping the king; it being

being secretly understood between him and the legate, that after he had obtained a cessation of arms, which at this time he much wanted, the censures should be renewed. Louis also suspected him of other intrigues carried on to his prejudice. He was, in truth, a very turbulent subject, though he had the character of a most religious and pious man. By his liberal alms and benefactions to the church he had so gained the monks, that they were called *his army*; and a formidable *army* they were, with whom the bravest princes were afraid to contend. But Louis stood then so little in awe of them, that he made war on their *general* more fiercely than before, destroyed a part of his country with fire and sword, and found no resistance, till he came to Vitray, a town in the Perthois, which, being defended by a strong garrison, refused to surrender. Incensed at this opposition he put himself at the head of his troops, assaulted the town, took it by storm, massacred the inhabitants, even the women and children, and commanded his soldiers to set fire to the houses. Thirteen hundred persons, of both sexes, of every age and condition, took refuge in the great church, which, they supposed, would be respected, as a sacred asylum: but no mercy was shewn to them: the church was burnt; and all within it were miserably consumed in the flames.

Pere Daniel,

Robertus de Monte, append. ad Siebert. ad ann. 1143. Hist. de Suger, l. vi. Pere Daniel,

The best friends of the king were shocked at this horrid barbarity; and, when he came to reflect coolly upon it himself, he was struck with such deep and such severe remorse, that he was ready to fall into despair. For his mind was naturally humane; but he could not controul the impetuosity of his passions, and had, on this occasion, been so transported and blinded by his fury, as, like one possessed by an evil spirit, to act in a manner most contrary to his usual disposition. Upon the return of his reason, he saw all the enormity of what he had done, and instantly gave himself up to a passion of sorrow, almost as violent as that of his rage had been before; which Bernard very skillfully taking advantage of, and subjecting to himself an understanding dismayed and enfeebled by guilt, brought him not only to make peace with the earl of Blois, but to submit to the pope, and receive Pierre de la Châtreas archbishop of Bourges. Nor did the change that was wrought in him, by the lessons he then learned, only affect his present conduct. From this time, even to the latest hour of his life, he became a bigotted slave to Rome, and, instead of continuing to support the rights of his crown with a proper spirit and firmness, weakly contributed to assist the establishment of the papal dominion, both in his own realm and in England; as king Henry the Second experienced long afterwards, in his quarrel with Becket. So bad
a use

a use was sometimes made by the *saints* in those days of the contrition of penitents, and so dangerous was it for a king to be under their conduct or influence!

During these troubles in France, and while the anger of Louis was inflamed against the earl of Blois, he found it necessary to court the earl of Anjou, who prudently availed himself of this state of affairs, to complete and secure his possession of Normandy. Thus all the interests of the princess Constantia were sacrificed by the king, her brother, to his present advantage, and to his apprehensions of strengthening the house of Blois, which he found so disobedient and so troublesome to him. Yet the ascendant gained by Bernard over the mind of this monarch, in consequence of the offence he had committed at Vitray, might very probably have produced an alteration in favor of Eustace, if soon after this time both Louis and the abbot had not been wholly taken up with another affair, which employed their thoughts for some years; I mean a crusade for the defence of the Holy land against the arms of Nouredin, sultan of Aleppo.

Chron. Norm.
sub ann. 1143.
1144.

As in the consequences of this enterprize Henry Plantagenet was deeply concerned, and owed to some incidents, which happened in the course of it, his marriage with Eleanor; a marriage, which gave to him, and to the kings of England, his posterity,

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

Book I.

the great duchy of Aquitaine, and produced much of the happiness and unhappiness of his life; it will be proper to relate, in a summary manner, the rise and progress thereof; and the rather, because the spirit or distinguishing character of the times cannot be perfectly understood, without a peculiar attention to this famous transaction, in which almost all the princes and nations of Europe engaged with so much ardor, that they seemed to think no other interest deserved their regard. While I am treating of this subject, I shall also give some account of a former crusade, which I omitted in writing the general history of the period wherein it happened, because I thought a narration of it would come in more agreeably and connectedly here, than where it must have been blended with several other matters of a different nature. For nothing can be shewn with due perspicuity in broken and scattered lights.

See the first volume.

It has already been related, how Fulk earl of Anjou, the father of Geoffry, was called over to Palestine by Baldwin the Second, king of Jerusalem, in order to marry Melisenda his daughter, and succeed to him in his kingdom. The nuptials were celebrated in the year eleven hundred and twenty seven, and Baldwin died in eleven hundred and thirty one, after many vicissitudes of good and bad fortune, in both which he had

Gal. Tyr.
L. xii, xiv. xv.

shewn

showed himself, a man of great courage, but one in whose temper that quality was mixed with some rashness. The king, his son-in-law, maintained the high reputation of valour and prudence, which had raised him to the throne, and ruled a weak state with great renown, till the year eleven hundred and forty two, when he was unhappily killed by a fall from his horse, as he was courting a hawk upon the plains of Ptolemais. He left his realm to Baldwin, the eldest of two sons that Melisenta had brought him, and who, being a minor, was put under the tuition of his mother. She was also appointed regent of the kingdom, which would have belonged to her, as sovereign, in her own right, and could not, till her death, have descended to her son, if the rule of succession in this and other governments, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, had not been generally unfavorable to women. But she had only the administration of it, in trust for her son, during the time of his nonage. It is difficult to account for the policy of making her regent: such a delegation of the royal authority being no way agreeable to the notions and principles, upon which she was excluded from inheriting the crown at the death of her father. But the same inconsistency is observable in the kingdom of France. Melisenta was a lady of a masculine spirit; and had abilities above the weakness of her sex; which were indeed very necessary for her, when

when the safety of a country perpetually attacked by more powerful neighbours was entrusted to her care. Of these the most formidable was Omadeddin Zenghi, Sultan of Mosul and Aleppo.

The empire of the Saracen Caliphs of Bagdat, which, under Haroun Alreschid, a prince contemporary with Charlemagne, had been as great in the East as that emperor's in the West, was now reduced to a mere religious supremacy, preserved to them by custom, and by a continuance of that veneration, founded upon their descent from the family of their prophet, and upon the chief priesthood annexed to their dignity, which had made the former Caliphs of all kings the most absolute, while they knew how to reign. But the descendants of those princes having sunk into a slothful and effeminate life in a voluptuous seraglio, the governor's of their provinces, by degrees, rendered themselves independent, and paid no further regard to them than in receiving from their hands a form of investiture; while the most powerful of these officers, under the title of Emir al Omara, or generalissimo, usurped all their authority in civil affairs. The family of Buiah having thus governed the caliphate for more than a century, Cadher, the twenty fifth caliph of the house of Abbas, became impatient of their yoke; and being unable, by any strength of his own, to shake it off, put himself under

See Herbelot
Diction. Ori-
entale, under
the articles
Cadher and
Mahmoud le
Gafnevide.

der the protection of Mahmoud, sultan of Gashah, a prince of a Turkish extraction, and one of the greatest conquerors the world ever saw; for he subdued all the Indies, besides Persia, Georgia, and whatever dominions belonged to the caliphate, which he ruled under the name of protector or guardian. His virtues rendered him worthy of a still greater empire than that he possessed, and he had the happiness to leave it entire and peaceable, after a long life of constant prosperity, to his son, named Massoud. But, during the reign of that prince, a new revolution happened in the East.

See Herbelot under the articles Massoud and Selgiuck.

A colony of Turks, under the conduct of Selgiuck, the chief of one of their principal tribes, had come from Capchack, which is a part of Great Tartary lying north-east of the Caspian sea, and settled in multitudes upon the confines of Bockara, where they embraced the Mahometan religion. Soon afterwards they made themselves masters of Bockara, and pushed their conquests much further under Thogrul-beg, the grandson of Selgiuck, who to the Scythian strength and courage joined all the talents and virtues of a great king. Having been slighted by Massoud, to whom he and his brother had offered their service, he passed the Oxus, defeated that sultan, and, after subduing all Persia, was invested at Bagdat, by the Caliph, Caim Beemrillah, with the same dignities and

See Herbelot under the articles Thogrul-beg and Caim Beemrillah.

and power in the empire, as had formerly been enjoyed by the house of Buiah. From this epoch the dynasty of the Selgiucides, famous in Asia, is reckoned to begin, and continued very flourishing for three generations.

See Herbelot under the articles Alp-Arslan, Gelaeddin, and Soliman.

Thogrul-beg was succeeded by his valiant nephew Alp-Arslan, who, with an army of no more than twelve thousand men, beat the Greek emperor, Romanus Diogenes, at the head of three hundred thousand, and took him captive. This sultan left the government to his son Gelaeddin, whose dominions extended from Urquend, a city of Turquestan beyond the river Oxus, to Antioch in Syria, which he won from the Greek empire, by the good conduct of Soliman, a prince of his blood, on whom he bestowed it with part of the Lesser Asia; and it was from a lieutenant or emir of Soliman that it was taken by Boemond, one of the bravest and wisest chiefs of the first crusade. The good success of that enterprize was greatly facilitated by the death of Gelaeddin, which happened in the year of our Lord one thousand and ninety two. For, on that event, disputes arising about the succession, the power of the Selgiucides was thereby much weakened, and the arms of the Crusaders met with a feebler resistance, than they would have done, if it had still subsisted in that fulness of strength, which it had acquired

quired during the life of this sultan. Nor was it ever recovered by his successors. For the governors of their provinces became independent, and paid as little obedience to them as they did to the caliphs. Thus Omadeddin Zenghi, under the grandson of Gelaledin, made himself sovereign of Mosul, the capital of Assyria, to which he soon added Aleppo and Hama in Syria; conquests that rendered him formidable to all his neighbours, but especially to the Christians. The city of Edessa, with a great part of Mesopotamia, had been taken from a lieutenant of the sultan of Bagdat by Baldwin, the younger brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, who, having been elected king of Jerusalem, at Godfrey's decease, gave up this inferior state to Baldwin de Burg, his cousin german. This prince, also, having succeeded to the throne of that kingdom, resigned Edessa, with all its territory, which had the title of an earldom, to his relation, Joscelin de Courtenay, a man of courage and prudence, who maintained it for some years, against many sharp attacks of the bordering Turks, and left it, at his death, to his son. But, being young and profligate, gave himself up to his pleasures; of which Omadeddin Zenghi, the sultan of Mosul, taking advantage, came on a sudden, and, while the earl was indulging his riot at Turbessel, a town on the Euphrates, laid siege to Edessa, which wanted many necessaries for its defence, and was garrisoned only

See Herbelot
under the ar-
ticles Atabeck
and Zenghi.

See Herbelot
under the ar-
ticles Edessa,
and Gul. Tyr.
de bello sacro,
l. xvi. from
p. 890 to 894.
under the year
1142.

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only by mercenaries, who were ill paid. In vain did the earl, whom the danger of his capital roused from that lethargy into which his debauches had thrown him, put himself at the head of what forces he could raise and solicit Raymond prince of Antioch and the queen regent of Jerusalem to assist him in this exigence. The former under whom he held part of his territories, had been, for some time, upon such ill terms with him, that he forgot they had a common interest to hinder a city of so much importance from being conquered by the Turks, and delayed to give him assistance, till it was too late. Melisenta indeed ordered some of her best troops to march to his succour: but before they could arrive the sultan had taken the place by storm. From thence he went to besiege Colengebar, a fortress upon the Euphrates, and undoubtedly would have pushed his conquests much further, if he had not been murdered in his tent by a conspiracy of his own slaves. After his death, his dominions were divided among his sons; Aleppo and Edeffa, with all the other conquests made by him in Syria, falling to the share of Nouredin, his second son, according to William archbishop of Tyre, a contemporary writer, but the eldest of three, according to Herbelot and some of the best Arabian historians. While this prince was in Assyria, disputing there with one of his brothers about their inheritance, the earl of Edeffa, who had

Gul. Tyr.
l. xvi. p. 893.
Herbelot under the articles Atabeck and Nouredin.
Gul. Tyr.
c. 14, 15, 16.
l. xvi.

had an intelligence with the Christians left in that city, being informed that the walls were negligently guarded, scaled them by night, at the head of some chosen troops, and with the help of the citizens got into the town: but not being able, for want of proper engines, to take some castles, which were a kind of citadel to it, he soon found cause to repent of his enterprize. For when Noureddin was informed of what he had done, immediately quitting Assyria he collected his forces, marched to Edessa, and invested the town. The earl and his troops found themselves now in a terrible situation, harrassed, within the walls, by the garrisons of the forts, and assailed, without, by the army of Nouredin, hopeless of relief, and destitute of provisions to sustain a long siege. Hereupon they all resolved, as it became men of courage, to make a general sally, and endeavour, sword in hand, to cut their way through the enemy; which, in such an extremity, was the most honorable, and perhaps the safest part they could take. But when their intention was known to the citizens, the dread of being left exposed to the rage and vengeance of the Turks determined them also to go out with the troops, and carry with them their wives and children. Accordingly, one of the gates of the town being opened, they all sallied forth; but were beaten back again by the troops of Nouredin, and attacked at the same time by the garrisons of the

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the forts; who, opening some other gates to their countrymen, inclosed the miserable Christians between two armies, which made it equally difficult for them either to advance or retire. Yet, after a long and bloody fight, the earl and his soldiers broke through all that opposed them in the front, and gained the open fields: but of the citizens hardly any escaped. Nor did Noureddin permit the earl to go off unpursued, but followed him close, and, as he retired towards the Euphrates, which was distant from Edessa about fourteen miles, harrassed his forces all the way with incessant attacks; till their bravest men having been killed and the others beginning to break their ranks, their chief himself fled, and got safe to the other side of the river; but his life was all he preserved: for his army was destroyed, and he left his whole country in the power of the Turks.

The fame of this action quickly spread all over the East, and made the name of Noureddin as dreadful, as that of his father had been, to all the Latin Christians of Syria and Palestine. They thought they already saw him at the gates of Jerusalem, and, considering the circumstances of that kingdom, despaired of being able to defend it against such an enemy, on their frontier, by their own strength alone. It therefore was necessary to ask the assistance of the princes of Europe, and endeavour to excite them to another

another crusade. But there was reason to doubt of the possibility of succeeding in such an application. For the chief expedition, made, since the death of Godfrey of Bouillon, into those countries from Europe, had proved so unfortunate, that the former ardor for these enterprizes might well have been extinguished.

V. Fulcher.
Garnot. sub
ann. 1120.
Gest. Francor.
Expug. Hie-
rus. sub ann.
1101, 1102.
Gul. Tyr.
hist. l. xi. sub
ann. 1101,
1102.
Ann. Com-
nene hist.
l. xi. c. 7.
Malmsh. l. iv.
sub ann. 1101,
1102. f. 84.
Oid. Vital.
l. x.
V. auctores
citat. ut suprà.

In the year of our Lord eleven hundred and one, William the Eighth, duke of Aquitaine, Hugh the Great, earl of Vermandois, Stephen earl of Blois, who was father to Stephen afterwards king of England, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Bourges, with other nobles of high rank in the kingdom of France, had taken the cross, at the head of fifty or sixty thousand horse, and a hundred thousand foot, according to the lowest account of their numbers. We are told that the greatest part of this mighty force was drawn from the territories of the duke of Aquitaine: a very remarkable proof of the power of that dutchy, which Henry Plantagenet afterwards obtained by his marriage with the grand-daughter of this prince. But the zeal for this warfare against the Mahometans in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem was not confined to the French. At the same time, the bishops of Milan and Pavia, with many of the princes and nobles of Lombardy, led from thence another army of fifty thousand men, as an author, who was with them himself, relates. These were

Vol. II.

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Book I.
 V. Abbat. Uf-
 pergens. in.
 chron. p. 237.
 V. Annales
 Boicæ gentis,
 part. i. c. 18.

joined during their march by the duke of Bavaria, the archbishop of Saltzburg, and other potentates of the empire, whose forces, added to those of the French and Lombards, made up about two hundred and fifty or sixty thousand men, of which at least a hundred thousand were heavy-armed cavalry; besides a great train of priests and monks, and of women and children, with which these armies most imprudently encumbered themselves, encreasing thereby the worst difficulty they had to contend with, that of finding subsistence. The earl of Vermandois and of Blois had engaged in the first crusade, and were forced into this by the disgrace they were branded with in the whole Christian world, for having left their confederates before they had taken Jerusalem; which was esteemed such a blemish to their honor, that (if we may believe a contemporary historian) Adela, countess of Blois, and one of the daughters of William the Conqueror, had so much of her father's spirit in her, as to persuade her husband, with frequent and vehement exhortations, to return to the holy war, in order to recover his lost reputation. He took her advice, though, it is said, with great reluctance, and as if he had foreseen the fatal event. But the duke of Aquitaine had no such instigations, to drive him into this romantic undertaking; and of all the princes then alive he seemed the least likely to engage in it from motives of piety or devotion.

V. Ord. Vit.
 ut *suprà*.

votion. William of Malmſbury affirms, that he gave himself up to every kind of vice, as if he believed that chance, not Providence, governed the world: to prove which, he relates some very extraordinary facts: as for instance, that in a castle built by the duke one part was laid out in the form of a nunnery, which he declared he would fill, not with nuns, but harlots, and named the most celebrated prostitute of the time to be the abbess, and others of lesser note to fill the other offices of this new kind of convent. He also put away his wife, and took another man's (some authors say his own brother's) to live publickly with him, wearing her picture on his shield; and, though he had been excommunicated on account of the scandal this gave, he continued his connexion with her for several years after his return out of Palestine, and was again excommunicated, without being reclaimed. When the bishop of Poitiers was beginning to pronounce the sentence against him, he drew a dagger, and, seizing that prelate by the hair of his head, threatened to kill him, if he did not immediately absolve him. The bishop desired a short time, to say something to him, which being granted, he finished the excommunication with still more severity; and then offering his throat to the furious duke, bade him strike. But that prince, either affected by the firmness of his courage, or having only meant to fright him, said, with a smile

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V. Malmſb.
f. 96. l. 5.

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of contempt, *that he never should be sent to heaven by his hand.* Yet, at the instigation of his mistress, he banished him out of his territories; during which exile the good prelate departed this life, and was supposed to work miracles after his decease. A report of these being brought to the duke, he said in publick, *I repent of not having put him to death long before, that his holy soul might have owed to me the great obligation of having sooner procured for it celestial beatitude.* Such was the character of this man, whose impiety seems to have equalled the profligacy of his manners: notwithstanding which, the general mode of the times, an ardor for glory, or perhaps that strange mixture of superstition and irreligion, which sometimes is found in the same mind, carried him to the holy land, with the abovementioned princes. But, though he and his confederates put themselves under the conduct of a great general, Raymond earl of Toulouse, one of the heroes of the first crusade, whom they happened to find detained at Constantinople, yet of these formidable armies hardly a thousand men came safe to Jerusalem; as Conrade abbot of Urspurgh, who was with them, affirms.

V. Chron. Uf.
perg. p. 239.

Vid. auctores
citat. ut supra.

That the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, helped to occasion their destruction, by a secret intelligence, he carried on with the Turks, is asserted by many of the Latin historians who treat of this subject. Nor,
indeed,

indeed, can one much wonder at it, if he so acted: for he had reason to be uneasy at such mighty armies of foreigners so frequently passing through his dominions, which some of them pillaged like an enemy's country, and where almost all behaved themselves with great insolence; as even their own writers are compelled to acknowledge. But I do not find sufficient evidence to establish the credit of this report. Certain it is, that he warned them to take another road, and that their neglect of this counsel was the cause of all their misfortunes. For they presently came into a desert and mountainous country, where they could procure neither food nor forage, and were continually harrassed, during a difficult march of above thirty days, by a great army of Turks, collected out of all the neighbouring states, and commanded by Soliman, the warlike sultan of Nice and Iconium, who compleatly revenged himself at this time for the losses, which he had suffered from their countrymen in the first crusade. After repeated attacks, by which he had considerably diminished their numbers, when many of their horses had been killed, or were ready to die with fatigue and famine, and when the spirit of the men themselves was worn out, he suddenly brought down all his forces upon them, from the tops of some hills, the defiles of which they had entered; and made so terrible a slaughter of them,

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V. Ann. Com-
nene hist.
l. xi. c. 7.
Fulcher Car-
noten. et.
Gest. Francor.
Expugn. Hie-
rusal. sub ann.
1101, 1102.
Ord. Vital.
l. x. et
Malmsh. l. iv.
f. 84. sub ann.
1101, 1102.
Gul. Tyr.
hist. l. x. sub
iisdem annis.

that they durst not stand the danger of another assault, but fled, by night, in small parties, leaving their baggage, and all their women and children, with many sick and wounded men, in the power of the Turks, who, much incensed at these perpetual wars made upon them, by princes and people whom they never had offended, massacred some, and carried the others captive, even to the furthest parts of the east, where they remained without redemption. Among the women thus enslaved was a princess of Austria, with many other noble ladies. Great numbers of the men, who had fled out of the camp, were overtaken in their flight and cut to pieces, or perished by hunger in the mountains and deserts; yet, as they went different ways, some of them escaped. Particularly most of the princes and earls got safe to Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia; where they lost the earl of Vermandois, who died of the fatigue and hardships he had suffered. After they had paid the last duties to him, and given themselves a little rest, they proceeded to Antioch. The duke of Aquitaine arrived there on foot, with hardly a single knight, or menial attendant, having lost his whole army, horses, money, and all the necessaries of life; which he was supplied with, in Antioch, by the bounty of Tancred, a Norman prince, who governed that city; as were also the other chiefs, and some troops of their followers, who had either accom-

accompanied them in their retreat, or joined them on the road, after their first separation. Finding themselves strong enough, when they were united together, to make some attempt against the enemy, they laid siege to Tortosa, a town in Phœnicia; which being but weakly fortified, they took it by storm, and put themselves, by the pillage of it, in a better condition. This city with its territory, which they left in the possession of the earl of Toulouse, was the only advantage purchased by so much Christian blood, instead of the conquest of a great part of Asia, which they had proposed to themselves, when they undertook this adventure. The duke of Aquitaine, embarked at Joppa, and returned to his own exhausted dominions, without any further misfortune, but dejected with sorrow and shame; from the sense of which he more miserably delivered himself, by plunging deeper than ever into the filth of vice and debauchery. The duke of Burgundy and the earl of Blois had likewise embarked at the same port; but being driven back by contrary winds, they remained in the Holy land; and were soon afterwards killed in the bloody battle of Rama, which the king of Jerusalem, too rashly courageous, lost by his ignorance of the number of the enemy he came to attack. The earl of Bourges, brother to Raymond earl of Toulouse, was taken prisoner in the same action. Nor had the duke of Bavaria a much happier

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destiny, though he escaped from that defeat: for returning home, after the loss of the greatest part of his army, he fell sick, and died, in the island of Paphos. Such was the event of this crusade; which might have deterred enthusiasm itself from ever forming another.

Nevertheless the same epidemical madness, after having been checked during more than forty years, now broke out again, with greater fury than ever, in all parts of Europe; even in those which had suffered most from the last expedition. One of the first who was seized with it was Louis le Jeune. The mind of that king had been strongly disposed to receive it, by the compunction and horrors with which he was agitated, after the cruelties committed at Vitry. He thought a crusade would better expiate his guilt in that action than any other penance, according to the notions which almost universally prevailed in those days. Therefore, when he heard that Edeffa was taken, and that the Christians in Palestine desired the succour of their brethren in Europe, he, with great ardor, embraced the opportunity of gaining the remission of his past sins, by the merit of fighting for Christ's holy sepulchre. Other inducements had also some weight with him. His elder brother Philip had made a vow to go to the holy land: but, death having prevented him from performing

V. Otho Frisingen. l. i.
c. 34, 35.

ing it, Louis imagined himself in some measure bound to accomplish it for him, because he had inherited the crown in his stead. He further supposed, that those, who implored his assistance, had a right to demand his protection; the prince of Antioch, and the earls of Edessa and Tripoli, being all Frenchmen, and the king of Jerusalem the son of one of his vassals. There was something more specious in this opinion, yet surely the duty, which he owed, in the first place, to his subjects in France, was a much stronger bond to detain him there. He proposed the affair to his council, who, finding he stated it rather as a case of conscience than a political deliberation, referred him to Bernard abbot of Clairvaux, whom they thought the best guide in any points of that nature. The abbot, though burning with zeal for the enterprize, had so much discretion, that he would not venture to decide so important a question by his own judgement, but exhorted the king to be advised by the pope.

Idem ibidem.
Epist. i. Eugenii pap.
tom. x. concil.
p. 1046.

Eugenius the Third, who had been a disciple of Bernard, was then in the see of Rome, and too well understood the interests of it, not to encourage such an undertaking. He sent into France a bull, by which he excited the king and the whole nation to this pious warfare, and granted to all, who should engage therein, as full a pardon of all their
past

past offences, as his predecessor, Urban the Second, had given to those, who had enlisted themselves in the first crusade. He likewise took all their families, possessions, and goods, under his special protection; even forbidding any legal proceedings against them, till their return; or against their heirs, till their death should be certainly known. As a further encouragement, he freed every debtor, who should take part in this crusade, from all arrears of interest due to his creditors; and absolved him, or his sureties, *by the apostolick authority*, from any promise or oath that he had given for the payment thereof. He also granted to all vassals the liberty of mortgaging their lands to the church, or to any other persons, against the great rule of the feudal law; in order to raise the money which they wanted for this expedition, if their lords either could not or would not lend it to them, after due notice given. Such were the baits thrown out by Rome, to draw men into this ruinous folly; and such were the powers which it furnished that see with a pretence to assume!

Vit. Sugerii
per Guilelm.
Histoire de
Soger, l. vi.
P. 113.

Sug. epist.
144.

Hitherto no crowned head had ever engaged in a crusade; but to enroll even kings and emperors in those armies, of which the pope was the chief, and by that means to make *him* the *protector* and *disposer* of them and their kingdoms, was, undoubtedly, a great object of papal ambition. In vain did Abbot Suger, who was as pious as St. Bernard,

Bernard, but less a bigot and more a statesman, oppose this design to the utmost of his power. In vain did he remonstrate, both to the king and the pope, how improper and how dangerous it would be for the former, who at this time had no child, except a daughter who was but four years old, to leave his kingdom exposed to the hazard of an unfettled succession: there being yet, in that monarchy, no rule clearly fixed by law or usage, in virtue of which the crown would descend, without any controversy, to the nearest heir male. Interest closed the ears of the pope, and bigotry those of the king, against all the representations and counsels of his wife and honest minister, the most respectable monk of that age, or perhaps, of any other. Together with the bull abovementioned, Eugenius had sent to Bernard a brief, appointing him his vicar, to preach the new crusade. The parliament, or great council of the kingdom of France, (for such were then the French parliaments) was convened, as usual, at Easter, in the year of our Lord eleven hundred and forty six. The place, appointed for it to meet in, was Vezelai, a town in the dutchy of Burgundy; and there the king, who in another parliament, held the Christmas before, had declared his desire of speedily taking the cross, resolved to put it in execution: which being made known to his subjects, the concourse at Vezelai was so great, that

Gadfrid. vita.
S. Bern. c. iv.
Odo de Diog.
in t. x. concil.
p. 1102.
Hist. Ludov.
vii. reg. apud
Duchefne,
t. iv. p. 413.
See also his-
toire de Suger.
l. vi. p. 110.

Book I.

Odo ut supra
Bernard. epist.
256.
Granfrid. vit.
S. Bernard.
Fleuri hist.
eccles. l. lxix.

that the assembly was forced to be held in a field. A pulpit was raised on the side of a little hill, which rose at the end of a large plain, and from thence Bernard, after having read the letters of the pope, harangued with much eloquence, according to the purport of his commission; and added to the vehemence of his exhortations assurances of good success, which he threw out as a prophet under divine inspiration. The better to authorise his predictions, he pretended to work miracles; which, together with the opinion conceived of his sanctity, gave an almost irresistible force to his words. He had scarce ended, when Louis rose up from his throne, and throwing himself at his feet demanded the cross, which Eugenius had sent for him. Having received it with marks of great devotion, and placed it on his right shoulder, he mounted the pulpit, and harangued the assembly, or rather *preached* to them, with as much fervour as Bernard. The sermon of the king had no less influence over the minds of the audience, than that of the monk: all of them unanimously, with loud acclamations, desired to be enlisted into this sacred militia. Bernard had brought into the field a great number of crosses prepared for the purpose: but these not being sufficient, he took off his garment, and cut it into small pieces, of the same form, which he gave to all who asked for them; among whom were the earls of

Flanders,

Chron Maurin-
iac, apud
Duchefne,
p. 388, 389.

Flanders, of Toulouse, of Nevers, with most of the other great vassals and peers of France, and Robert earl of Dreux, the king's brother. The queen herself, the young, the gay, the lively Eleanor, either from a sudden start of devotion, or from complaisance to her husband, engaged to attend him in this dangerous expedition, without regarding the sad fate of the princess of Austria, or what her own grandfather had suffered, in the former crusade. Many ladies of her court were induced by her example to take part in a warfare so unsuitable to them; and some historians have affirmed, that they mounted on horseback, armed and accoutred like Amazons, and formed themselves into squadrons, which were honored with the name of *Queen Eleanor's guard*. They also sent distaffs to all the young men of their neighbourhood, who had not yet enrolled themselves among the crusaders: by the shame of which they were driven to it: so that (as Bernard himself testifies in one of his letters) the towns and villages remained inhabited only by women and children.

See Mezerai
vie de Louis
vii.
Histoire de
Suger.

Of all the princes in France, or in the whole christian world, none was so naturally called upon to join in this enterprize, as Geoffry earl of Anjou. His father's son, not yet of age, was king of Jerusalem; his mother in law was regent. That they strongly solicited him to assist them in person, can scarce be doubted; and his resisting their importunities,

importunities, as well as the impetuosity of that modish zeal, which bore down every restraint of prudence before it, is an extraordinary proof of the peculiar solidity and strength of his judgement. The unsettled state of Normandy was, I suppose, his excuse; and, by insisting upon that, he not only avoided the evils, which he might apprehend would ensue from this crusade, but secured the dutchy to himself: for, while the king was abroad, he fixed his government there on the firmest foundations.

The earl of Blois was aged and infirm; which probably might be the reason, or at least the pretence, why he did not take the cross: but, that he might not incur the spiritual censures of Rome, by doing any thing to disturb the kingdom of France, while it was under the protection of that see, he adhered to the resolution, he had declared some time before, that he would not engage in any contest with Matilda or her husband, out of any regard, either to his brother, King Stephen, or his nephew, Prince Eustace. Thus did all these events contribute to serve the house of Plantagenet; as will hereafter more evidently appear.

The frenzy, which Bernard had excited in France, rose to so monstrous a height, that, in a great council, held at Chartres, to settle all matters, relative to the crusade, the whole assembly elected the abbot for their general, instead of the king: an extravagance

travagance which I should hardly believe on the faith of any historians, if I did not find it attested in some of the letters, written at that time, to Pope Eugenius the Third, by Bernard himself. Peter the hermit had indeed commanded a rabble, that had taken up arms at the beginning of the first crusade; but the destruction of all those who marched under his conduct was enough to prevent even the wildest fanaticks among the common people, from ever desiring to follow their example. How very wonderful is it then, that all the princes and nobles of the French kingdom, when a king renowned for his valour, and full of ardor for the cause, was actually at their head, should defer the command to a monk, still less qualified for it than the hermit abovementioned, who, before he retired from the world, had served as a soldier; whereas this man in all his life had never borne arms. But the strong persuasion he had infused into them, that God was with him, and that, like another Moses, he would lead them, by miracles, into the land of promise, made them overlook his natural incapacity, and think him the most proper head of an enterprize, to which they believed he had called them by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless he was so far from the indiscretion of accepting this dangerous offer, that he would not even take the cross, nor go along with the army into Asia; but contented himself

V. Bernard.
epist. 256. ad
Eugen. pap.
et epist.
Eugenii apud
Villefore,
p. 411.

himself with executing the office enjoined him by the pope, which was not to engage in, but to preach the crusade.

Otto Frising.
de rebûs gest.
Fred. I. impe-
rat. l. i. c. 37.
38, 39, 40.
Bern. epist.
323.

After having so ably performed his business in France, he went to the diet held at Spire by the emperor Conrade the Third. The great fame of his sanctity, and miracles supposed to be worked by him there, as well as in France, with the disposition of the Germans to receive him as a messenger sent to them from God, which character he had the boldness to take on himself, rendered his success as general among them as among his own countrymen. Indeed the infection of this kind of fanaticism had seized them with so much violence, that a vagabond monk, who, without any commission from the pope, or any pretence to supernatural powers, preached the crusade in the cities on the Rhine, and incited the people to begin the Holy war by a massacre of the Jews, was greedily heard by them, and not without difficulty suppressed by Bernard, after having raised great seditions, and occasioned the slaughter of many Jews in those parts. Happily for all the rest of that nation in Europe, the missionary of the pope, having more credit than he, confined him to his convent, and turned all the fury of the zeal he had kindled, against the Mahometans only. The emperor himself took the cross, and with him most of his vassals, except the Saxons,

Saxons, who excused themselves from any share in this expedition; because they had a Holy war to wage nearer home, against the pagan Slavonians. Bernard afterwards pursued his mission, with the same fervour, the same arts, and the same prodigious success, over all the Low Countries, and would, in all probability, have extended it to England; where he might have found as much faith, as in the French, the Germans, or the Flemings, and no less zeal, or courage; if the distracted state of that kingdom, and a doubt to which sovereign he ought to address himself, Matilda, or Stephen, had not stopped him from applying either to the one or the other. Yet some of his agents, or perhaps the mere fame of the great armament making in France and in Germany, drew in many English; among whom were Roger de Maobray, earl of Northumberland, Waleran earl of Meulant, and his half-brother, William de Warrene, earl of Surrey. On Septuagesima Sunday, in the year eleven hundred and forty seven, a general assembly of the French kingdom was held at Estampes; where Bernard having reported the resolution of the emperor and the states of the empire to join in their enterprize, it was deliberated what road they should take: a question, which experience had shewn to be indeed of the utmost importance. The ambassadors of Roger the First, king of Sicily, who was then at war with the Greek emperor, Ma-

nuel Comnenus, offered the king of France, on the part of their master, ships and all other necessaries for the transporting of his army by sea; at the same time exhorting him, not to expose himself, in going by land, to the perfidy of the Greeks; against whom they inveighed, as having secretly combined with the Turks, to ruin the Latin Christians, in former crusades. Many of the French approved this counsel, and strongly exhorted the king to accept the offer. For the length of the journey, from Constantinople to Syria, or Palestine, was in itself a terrible difficulty, to an army so numerous, and so ignorant of the countries, which they were to travel over; and this difficulty was doubled, if their suspicions of the Greeks were not wholly groundless. Whereas their journey through Italy would have been safe and commodious; and from the several ports of the kingdom of Naples, or Sicily, they might, in the summer, have easily passed to Joppa, Ptolemais, or some other haven of Phœnicia, which had been subjected to the crown of Jerusalem, by the fleets of the Pisans, Genoese, or Venetians. But this salutary advice was rejected. The chief objection to it was, that it would be impossible to transport so many troops in one embarkation, and that the embarking of them at different times would cause too long a delay. As for the apprehensions of perfidy in the Greeks, they were partly removed, by let-
ters

ters received from the emperor, but still more by the confidence, that the king himself, and all his army, had in their own strength, which they thought sufficient to subdue both the Greeks and the Mahometans, though they should be united; especially with the aid of their German confederates: not well considering, that the greater their numbers were, the greater would be the difficulty of supplying their wants, in an enemy's country, or in that of a deceitful and treacherous friend. They resolved therefore to go by Constantinople; and this resolution was agreed to, by the emperor Conrade, who set out first, at the head of seventy thousand horse, all heavy armed, besides a numerous infantry and light horse consisting of very good soldiers. The king of France followed him, about three months afterwards, by the same road, with a cavalry equal to his, and an infantry little inferior; it being agreed that they should unite their forces at Constantinople. But before the French could reach that city, Conrade had left it, out of impatience for action; or because he apprehended that two such vast armies, when joined together, could not have found the necessary means of subsistence; or, perhaps, from an unwillingness to share with the French, either the advantages, or the glory, of the great conquests he hoped to make. His design was to go and besiege Iconium, the capital of Lycaonia, which

Gul. Tyr.

l. xvi.

Gest. Ludov.

vii. apud Du-

chesne, c. 52,

6, 7, 8.

was an open and fertile country : but trusting to guides that were given him by the Greek emperor, he was led into the deserts and straits of Mount Taurus, towards Cappadocia, where his army, being in want of all kinds of provisions, was destroyed in much the same manner, as the former crusaders; of whom an account has been given. For the sultan of Iconium, alarmed at the intelligence he received, that almost the whole strength of Europe, under it's two greatest monarchs, was coming against him, had, for some time, made extraordinary preparations to resist them, imploring assistance even from the furthest parts of the East. By this means he had collected a numerous army; who, being excellent archers, all mounted on horses very active and swift, and all light-armed, took advantage of the mountainous and difficult country the enemy were engaged in, and ruined their heavy troops, whose horses were rendered useless by hunger and toil, without ever exposing themselves in a close fight, which they were unfit for. Their manner of combating resembled that of the Parthians against the Roman legions, infesting the enemy with showers of arrows, and saving themselves by flight, when they were attacked, but presently returning to the charge. Thus of this army, so formidable in it's numbers, and in the valor of the men, hardly a tenth part escaped with the emperor, who had been wounded with two arrows,

into,

into the territory of Nice, then possessed by the Greeks; where having found a retreat, and the refreshments they wanted, they stopped awhile, to wait for the arrival of the French king, who, they heard, was marching that way.

The faults committed by Conrade were quite inexcusable. He ought to have sent to the prince of Antioch, or to the king of Jerusalem, for guides, to conduct him from Constantinople to Iconium, and from thence into Syria; and not have trusted the safety of his army to the doubtful faith of the Greeks. But if his affinity with Manuel Comnenus, whose wife was sister to his, and the fair words of that emperor, who was skilful in the art of dissembling, made him at first neglect this caution; yet when he found, during his march over the lands of the empire, several proofs of hostile malice and treachery in the Greeks, it was a strange infatuation, that he should go on, in an enemy's country, without any distrust of his guides; that he should consult only them, as to the quantity of provisions, which it would be necessary to carry with him; and that, even when he began to discover their perfidy, he should guard them so ill, that they were able to make their escape, by night, and leave him in the midst of unknown mountains: all which we are assured of, by most authentic historians! With a conduct so absurd, it was impossible that his

V. Nicet. l. i. c. 5.

V. Gul. Tyr. et Odo de Diog. ut supra. Gest. Lud. vii. c. 6, 7, 8.

army should not be destroyed, unless a still greater miracle, than any of those which Bernard pretended to work, had been really done to preserve it.

But, while the imperial troops were thus sacrificed to the thoughtless credulity and simplicity of their leader, the French arrived at Constantinople. They and their king were received by Manuel Comnenus, with a great shew of kindness, under which he concealed the heart of an enemy, apprehensive of their force, and bent on their ruin. For, whatever doubt may be made of the treachery of his grandfather Alexius, it is certain this emperor dealt most perfidiously with Conrade and the Germans, who had done nothing to excuse so foul a proceeding. But he acted on principles of political jealousy, and with an intention, as Nicetas Chonjates, who was both his secretary and historian, declares, *that the calamities, brought, by his means, on these armies, might be an example of terror, to fright their posterity from ever more setting foot on the lands of the empire.* In all probability, he would have suffered for it, by drawing on himself the arms of the French; if, during their abode at Constantinople, the injuries done to their allies had been known. But they were deceived by a rumour, which he artfully caused to be spread, that Conrade had taken Iconium. This raised such an impatience in Louis and his army, to share in the conquests which

Odo de Diog.
l. iii. iv.
Nicetas, l. i.
s. 5. sect. 9.

V. Nice. ut
supra.

which they thought the Germans were making, that they were advanced almost to Nice, before the truth was discovered to them. Indeed, the bishop of Langres, a man of great sagacity, had in the midst of these flattering and delusive reports, exhorted the king to make himself master of Constantinople; and had shewn that he might do it, without any difficulty, or risk to his army, by stopping the aqueducts which supplied the city with all its fresh water, or even by entering it at several breaches, which he had observed in the walls. The utility of this measure he proved by good arguments; and the justice of it he grounded on the behaviour of the Greeks in former crusades, from whence he inferred a necessary distrust of them now; and likewise on their being schismatics and heretics. But the king was more scrupulous, in this point, than the bishop, and could not be persuaded to turn his arms against a Christian prince, when he had vowed to employ them only against the Mahometans. He also alledged, that he had consulted the pope on this affair, before he set out, and that his Holiness had not dared to declare it to be lawful. Such a consultation itself sufficiently proves, that the alarms of Manuel Comnenus were not ill founded. Fortunately for him, Eugenius the Third and Louis le Jeune paid a regard to religion, as well as utility: otherwise it is evident, that reasons of state would as

V. Odo de
Diog. ut sa-
pra.

much have induced them to begin and secure the conquests they meditated, by taking possession of Constantinople, and other towns of the Greek empire that lay in their way, as it did him to assist the Turks in this war against the Latin Christians. Nor does it seem at all probable, that he could have resisted such an army, if they had attacked him; especially, as we are told, that the fleet of the king of Sicily was ready to co-operate with the French in the siege. But, the counsel of the bishop of Langres being rejected, they passed over the Bosphorus, in vessels furnished by the emperor, who presently afterwards made them feel their dependence upon him, by forbidding any provisions to be brought to their camp, till all the nobility had taken the same oath of fealty to him, which those of the first crusade had been compelled to take to Alexius. The bishop of Langres pressed the king to resist this demand, by attacking immediately the cities of Asia which belonged to the Greeks: but this too was rejected; and all the nobles took the oath required by the emperor, except the earl of Dreux; who, rather than submit to such an indignity, led off his own vassals, and marched forward, at the head of them alone. The rest of the army soon followed; having been joined by a considerable body of troops, which the marquis of Montferrat and the earl of Maurienne, the king's uncles, brought to them.

by

by sea. They had passed Nicomedia, when they were met by those guides, who had caused the defeat of the Germans, and who repeated to them the false report of Iconium's being taken : but as soon as they came into the country of Nice, Frederick Barbarossa, the nephew of Conrade, who succeeded to him afterwards in the imperial throne, brought them a true account of his uncle's unhappy condition.

The consternation, which they were struck with, on receiving this news, was equal to the excess of their presumption before. They now began to perceive the vanity of Bernard's predictions. Louis immediately went, with all his principal nobles, to visit the emperor, who was encamped not far off. Nothing could be more moving than the first interview between these two princes. They embraced each other, with tears ; and continued, for some time, unable to speak. The king was the first, who, with the utmost generous offers of friendship and assistance, broke the melancholy silence ; mixing respect with condolence, and endeavouring to make the emperor feel, that in pitying his fortune he honored his person. Conrade replied with a proper gratitude, and not without dignity, in the midst of the profoundest humiliation. The first result of their conference was a resolution to act together, for the future. They next considered, what road it would be best for them to take, and

Odo de Diog.
l. v.
Gest. Ludov.
vii. c. 8, 9, 10.
Gul. Tyr.
l. xvi.

and determined to go, through Mysia and Lydia, to Smyrna and Ephesus; then to turn eastward, and, passing the Mæander, advance by Pamphylia and Cilicia, to Antioch. But, before they had gone very far, so many of the Germans quitted the army, on account of the distress they were in, from the loss of their baggage, that the emperor, finding himself left with hardly any troops, thought it would be a stain to his honor and dignity, to march, like a private man, under the banner of France. He therefore embarked at Ephesus, with some of his nobles, and sailed from thence to Constantinople, about the end of the year eleven hundred and forty-seven, proposing to stay in that city till the spring, and then to perform his vow at Jerusalem. It seems very strange, that, after he had suffered so much by the perfidy of the Greek emperor, he should rather chuse to reside in the court of that prince, than in the camp of his good ally, the king of France! But he was received there with more kindness than in his prosperity, Manuel being contented with having reduced him to need his compassion.

In the mean time the French army departed from Ephesus, and came to the banks of the Mæander. Though they were still in the limits of the Greek empire, they found the Turks posted on both sides of the river; the emperor having allowed them to enter his frontiers without any opposition.

At

V. Epist. Surg.
39 Lud. Reg.
ad Sugerum.
Odo de Diog.
l. v, vi, vii.



At sight of the enemy, whom they did not expect, they halted, to consider, what course they should take. Their situation was now very perilous. The provisions they had brought were almost consumed : on one side they were shut up by a long ridge of mountains, upon which a numerous body of Turks was encamped, and on the other by the river, which they were told was not fordable ; but, after a long search, they had the good fortune to discover a ford. There they determined to pass ; but, in executing this resolution, they were attacked by the enemy before and behind them. The king himself made head against those who fell upon his rear, and soon repulsed their assault, which was little more than a skirmish ; while the earls of Flanders, of Champagne, and of Noyon, to whom he had given the command of his van-guard, advancing boldly at the head of their troops, got over the water, and vigorously attacking the Turks, who guarded the bank, entirely routed them, and took their camp. The French lost only one man in this action, namely, Milo earl of Nogent ; but many of the enemy were killed or made prisoners. Probably the Turks, thus defeated, were only some bodies of irregular and light troops, which could not stand in a close fight against the French cavalry. Perhaps too, not out of fear, but prudence and good conduct, their leaders desired to avoid any battle with the French, where

Book I.

V. Epist. Lud.
Reg. ad Su-
gerum inter
Sug. epist. 39.
Odo de Diog.
I. vi.
Gal. Tyr.
I. xvi.
Gest. Ludov.
vii. Reg. c. 12,
13.

where the latter could act without the utmost disadvantage ; waiting to destroy them, as they had done their confederates, by safer means, and in such situations as should take from them the power of resistance. Whatever was the cause of this happy success, the joy it gave to Louis and his army was of a short duration. After they had furnished themselves with victuals and forage at Laodicea, they continued their journey, and came the next day, about noon, to the foot of a mountain, the ascent up to which was narrow and difficult. Their march was in two columns, the foremost of which was called the van-guard, and the hindmost the rear-guard. The command of these divisions was given, by turns, to all the principal barons; and it happened that the van-guard, which consisted of more than two thirds of the army, was led, that day, by Geoffry de Rançon, baron of Taillebourg in Poictou, who had orders to encamp on the top of the mountain ; it being the intention of the king that the whole army should pass the night in that post. But this nobleman arriving there without any impediment on the part of the Turks, who were not seen during his march, and finding that he had some hours of daylight before him, thought it would be better to encamp on the plain, which, as they looked down upon it, appeared exceedingly fertile and pleasant. This advice being approved by the earl of Maurienne, he paid

no regard to his orders; but, without any notice having been sent to the king, descended the mountain, and, when he came to the foot of it, marked out a camp, in a very commodious and agreeable situation. The queen and all her ladies were with him, and, perhaps a desire of gratifying them with better accommodations was the chief reason of his having committed this fault, against all the laws of military discipline. The rear-guard, encumbered with a great deal of baggage, and making no doubt of the van-guard's being posted upon the brow of the hill, supposed that they had time to spare before night, and therefore marched very slowly: so that the sun was near setting, while even the foremost of them had still some part of the ascent to surmount. In the mean while, the Turks, Vid. antea citat. ut supra. who had kept by the side of them, at a small distance, being covered from their sight by some rising grounds, were informed by their scouts, that the two parts of the Christian army were separated so far, as not to be able to assist each other: upon which, with great expedition, they went and possessed themselves of the top of the mountain, where the French van-guard had been ordered to encamp. Then, having formed a line of battle, they suffered the rear-guard to advance unmolested, till their foremost squadrons had almost reached the summit of the ascent, and the rest were far engaged in the deep

deep hollow ways, which embarrassed the middle of the hill. Having thus drawn them on to inevitable destruction, they made a sudden attack upon them, first with showers of arrows, and then sword in hand; which threw them immediately into the greatest confusion. For, as they expected no enemy, but imagined that the troops, they saw over their heads, had been their own van-guard, they marched in a very careless, disorderly manner; and many of them, to ease themselves of the weight of their arms, had thrown them into the waggons that carried the baggage. All things concurred to aid the Turks, and render the valor of the French ineffectual; the narrow defiles, in which they could not form any order of battle; the roughness and steepness of the ascent, which made their heavy-armed cavalry useless; the impediment of their baggage, which, being placed in the midst of them, hindered those behind from assisting the foremost; and the inferiority of their number to that of the enemy: so that scarce seven thousand, out of above thirty thousand, were able to escape; the rest being all either killed or taken. Among the slain was the earl of Surrey, and forty other noblemen of the first rank. Louis did every thing, that a most courageous general could possibly do, to encourage his soldiers; exposing his person, and fighting valiantly at the head of the foremost, till he had gained the

the summit of the hill; where he desperately maintained his ground for some time, till all his bravest knights lay dead at his feet. He seemed resolved to die there too, with his sword in his hand : but some of his servants, seeing the enemy begin to employ themselves in plundering the baggage, took that opportunity, and led him away, almost by force, to a rock, where they hoped to secure him, by the benefit of the night, which was then coming on : but, being observed and pursued by a superior body of Turks, most of them were cut to pieces, and the rest put to flight. The king, in this extremity, climbed up a tree, which grew out of the side of the rock, and from thence raised himself up to the brow of the cliff. Several arrows were shot at him there by the enemy, from which he was preserved by the strength of his armor, and the boughs that covered and screened him : but when some of the Turks attempted to climb the tree, he clove their heads, or cut off their hands and arms, as they clung to the branches ; defending himself with such an obstinate bravery, that the rest of the party, being ignorant who he was, and afraid to lose their share in the spoils of the baggage, drew off, and left him. He remained on the cliff the greater part of the night, not daring to leave it, for fear of falling into the enemy's power. But they, loaded with plunder and embarrassed with the multitude of the prisoners they had taken,

taken, thought it advisable to retire, when it began to grow dark; lest the French vanguard should return, and fall upon them in that disorder. Nor were their apprehensions ill founded. For, as soon as Louis saw his rear-guard attacked, rightly conjecturing from what this unexpected disaster had happened, he sent Odo de Deuil, his chaplain and secretary, to try if he could discover some other path in the mountain, leading from thence to the plain, and go by that way, to inform his van-guard of the peril he was in, and order them to hasten to his assistance. That monk (whose memoirs I have principally followed) performed his commission unperceived by the enemy: but, having been obliged to take a great circuit, he arrived too late to prevent the defeat of the rear-guard, by any succours from those to whom he came. The baron de Taillebourg and the earl of Maurienne set out indeed, as soon as they heard the news he brought, with all the best of their troops, and re-ascended the mountain, as fast as the steepness of the ascent would permit: but, before they could reach the top, they met the king. After the enemy were retired, some of his rear-guard, who had escaped from the slaughter, by hiding themselves in the caverns of the hill, happened to pass very near him. Finding them to be Frenchmen, by the language they spoke, he made himself known to them. One of them immediately

Odo de Diog.
L vii.

mediately furnished him with a horse, on which he rode through the heaps of his dead or dying subjects, and wandered, some time, in the intricate paths of the mountain, seeking his way, in the darkness of the night, without any guide, and under continual apprehensions of meeting the Turks, till he discovered the fires of his camp on the plain. These serving to direct him, he descended the hill, about the middle of which he fell in with the cavalry, that was coming to his aid, under Geoffry de Rançon and the earl of Maurienne. They, with mixed sentiments of joy and shame, received and conducted him safe from thence to the camp; where his arrival dispelled some part of the terror, which had seized the queen and the other ladies. But notwithstanding the consolation they found in his safety, the whole camp was now a scene of affliction and mourning. In every tent, a near relation, or a dear friend, was bewailed. Their sorrow was aggravated by the great danger they were in of wanting provisions; most of the stores they had collected at Laodicea having been taken by the enemy, together with the baggage of the rear-guard. It was still twelve days march from thence to Attalia, the capital of Pamphylia, which was the first place, on their road, where they could hope to receive any assistance or refreshment; and they were informed that the enemy had destroyed all the forage in the country through

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I

which

which they were necessarily to pass. These difficulties, added to the grief and the ignominy of such a defeat, raised an universal resentment against Geoffry de Rançon, who, by the breach of his orders, had occasioned their misfortune. All the army, with one voice, demanded his death, and, doubtless, he ought to have suffered a capital punishment: but he was saved by the clemency of Louis and the warm intercessions of the earl of Maurienne, who, being conscious that he had himself a share in his fault, was extremely solicitous to procure him a pardon. Indeed the relaxation of military discipline, which was one cause of the destruction of so many armies in these expeditions, arose from the feudal government. For the great barons were accustomed to so much independence, that they would hardly obey their leaders, who were obliged to treat them with such regards, as much impaired the force of authority necessary to keep an army in order. Louis having yielded to his uncle's entreaties in favor of the culpable baron de Taillebourg, took however some care to secure himself, for the future, from suffering again by a similar disobedience. Instead of permitting all his principal barons to lead his army by turns, as they had hitherto done, he now conferred the perpetual command of his van-guard, with a superior authority over the whole, upon an old officer of great merit, whom the historian

Follow names only Gilbert, without giving him any additional title of honor. The same writer informs us, that he was elected by a majority of the votes of the army, whom the king was pleased to consult with, in this affair. The conduct of the rear-guard was given to Everard des Barres, master of the Temple, who, with a troop of his knights, had joined the army not long before: but he was to act under the orders of Gilbert, whom Louis declared he would himself submit to obey; and whose directions that prince followed, in forming a strong body, out of the best of his forces, both horse and foot, which he commanded in person, and placed between the van and the rear-guard, for the defence of the baggage, and to succour, occasionally, either the one or the other. All, who had escaped by flight from the late action, were now come in: but many of these having lost their horses, they, with some bands of foot, were posted in the hindmost ranks of the rear, and armed with bows and arrows; that when the Turks, as their custom was, should make their discharge at a distance, these archers might annoy them in the same manner, and prevent their being secured by the suddenness of their flight. This good disposition had such an happy effect, that, being attacked by the enemy in the first days of their march, they not only repulsed them without any considerable loss to them-

Book I.

selves, but cut to pieces a great part of their army; which so daunted the rest, that they left off the pursuit: and the French continued their journey in quiet, for several days, through a most difficult and dangerous country. But, though they met with no enemy, they suffered grievous hardships, by the want of provisions for themselves and their horses: against which calamity they could find no resource, but to feed on the latter; preserving only the best and strongest, by some scanty supplies, which they procured, at a great price, from the avarice of the neighbouring Greeks. Thus they, at last, came safe to Attalia, a city of the Greek empire, but tributary to the Turks, whose territories bordered upon it every way, except to the sea, on the coast of which it was situated. The governor did not dare to refuse the king of France and his army admittance: but, that he might deliver himself from them as speedily as he could, he offered them ships, to convey them into the dominions of Antioch by sea. The proposition was relished by Louis and his council, the passage being much shorter, and less dangerous, by sea, than by land; especially, as the cavalry was almost dismounted. It was this circumstance, which made it seem practicable to procure shipping for them; men being much more easily transported than horses: but, after a delay of five weeks, the king had the mortification

to

V. epist. 39.
 Lud. ad Sug.

Odo de Diog.
 ut supra.

to find that one half of the number of vessels, which the governor had promised, was wanting. His army suffered extremely, by the great scarcity and dearth of food; an evil, which he feared would encrease every day that he remained in that city. He therefore determined to embark with his nobles and men at arms, leaving his infantry to wait till more transports could be obtained. But they, being distrustful of the faith of the Greeks, begged permission of the king to endeavour to force their passage by land. Louis, though unwillingly, granted their request; and having supplied them, as far as he was able, with money and other necessaries, put them under the command of two noble chiefs, who were willing to accept the dangerous charge, Archambaud earl of Bourbon, and Theodoric earl of Flanders. He also purchased horses for several of his knights, who, wanting room in the ships, were left to go with the foot. Lastly, that nothing in his power might be wanting to serve these unhappy men, he concluded a treaty with the governor of Attalia, and with an ambassador of the Greek emperor, who came to him there, by which they agreed, that, upon his paying to them five hundred marks, they should furnish him with guides and a convoy of cavalry, to attend on his forces during a part of their journey; and suffer all the sick to remain in the town, till they should be able to bear a

Vid. auctores
citat. ut supra.

I 3

voyage

voyage by sea. When all this was performed, he set sail for Antioch, carrying with him his queen and her whole train of ladies. But a treaty with those in whom it was impossible to place any confidence was a slender security: nor could he reasonably hope, that this part of his army would ever join him again, by the way they proposed, and being a march of forty days, through an enemy's country. The event proved as fatal, as the undertaking was desperate. Before they had gone many miles, they were attacked, on their march, by a much superior number of Turks, and though they fought very bravely, and beat off the enemy, the Greek guides and convoy, apprehending more assaults from other armies of Turks, absolutely refused to go any further. The French therefore were compelled to return to Attalia, and with great difficulty obtained permission of the governor to encamp under the walls, till ships could be procured, to convey them to Antioch. In this situation they were harrassed by frequent attacks of the Turks, with whom the townsmen perfidiously maintained an intelligence, and, being well supplied with provisions, died in great numbers, by famine and sickness. About four thousand of the bravest among them, seeing their countrymen perish so miserably, and preferring, as men under a grievous distress are too apt to do, any other evils to those they endured, attempted once more to

Vid. antores
et. ut supra.

go by land: but they were surrounded in their march by an army of Turks, who offering to take them into their pay, if they would change their religion, three thousand of them accepted that ignominious condition, and the rest were made captives. All those who had remained under the walls of Antioch were destroyed, by different ways, except the two earls, their leaders; and a few knights, who, when the army had returned to that city, despairing of ever performing the journey by land, embarked in a merchant ship, which they found in the port, and were safely transported to the mouth of the Orontes, about five leagues below Antioch. The king of France, and all whom he carried with him by sea, had arrived there some time before, and had been received with great honors, by Raymond de Poitiers, Eleanor's uncle, who having been educated in the English court by King Henry, had gone from England into Palestine, upon an invitation sent to him by Edk, earl of Anjou and king of Jerusalem, to marry Constantia, daughter and heiress to Raymond the younger, and niece to Melisande, the wife of that king. By this match he obtained the principality of Antioch, to which Cilicia and Tarsus were then annexed; but these were soon taken from him by the Greek emperor, John, the son of Alexius, to whom he also was compelled to do homage for Antioch. Nevertheless, after the

death of that prince, he held this state in dependant of Manuel, the son of John, and was accounted the next in power and dignity to the king of Jerusalem. Upon the coming of the French, he conceived no small hopes of enlarging his territories. Louis had still an army, composed of all the best gentlemen of France, who being refreshed and re-mounted, made a most formidable body of cavalry, and, joined to the forces which Raymond could himself bring into the field, might have been able to perform very glorious exploits. That prince had the highest reputation for courage and military abilities, of all the Latin Christians in Syria or Palestine; nor was he less famed for the talents of address and insinuation; which he now exerted, to persuade the French king to turn his arms in conjunction with him, against Aleppo, or some other town, adjacent to his frontiers; hoping, that whatsoever they should conquer from the Turks, would afterwards be annexed to his principality. Full of these schemes, he not only made court to Louis, but, by the most generous presents and the most winning manners, endeavoured to gain all the barons in the army to favor his purpose. He more particularly sought to ingratiate himself with the young queen, his niece; thinking that, possibly, she might have more influence over the mind of her husband, than any of his counsellors; and he succeeded so well, that she became very warm,

V. Neubrigen, l. i. c. 21.
et Gul. Tyr.
l. xiv. c. 21.

Gul. Tyr.
l. xiv. sect. 21.

warm, and perhaps too warm, in his interests. But Lewis pertinaciously refused to engage in any expedition, till he had performed his vow at Jerusalem, or to take any resolution concerning the plan and conduct of the war, before he went thither. Raymond, who knew that the queen of Jerusalem, and the lords of her council, would desire to employ the French in other undertakings, of less advantage to him, was much disgusted, and exceedingly resented this disappointment. But while he was angrily complaining about it, and labouring to engage the barons of France to prevail upon their master to alter his mind, that monarch, on a sudden, assembled his council, and communicated to them a violent apprehension, which he had conceived, of a plot formed by Raymond, to take from him his queen, who, he supposed, was herself consenting to the rape. All his counsellors, much surprised, and either alarmed at the danger, or fearing to oppose the bent of his mind in an affair of this nature, advised him to go that night out of Antioch, and carry Eleanor with him, however unwilling she might be to depart, without any notice given, either to her, or her uncle. This was accordingly executed; he got one of the gates to be opened to him at midnight, bore off the queen to the main body of his army, which was encamped without the walls, and marched from thence as hastily as he could

to

Gest. Ludov.
vii. reg. c. 15.
Gul. Tyr.
l. xvi. sect.
27.

See Pere Dan.
Louis vii. sub
ann. 1158.
V. Gal. Tyr.
l. xiv. c. 21.

to Jerusalem. All we know further of the grounds of so strange a proceeding is only from uncertain reports and conjectures. Some have accused Eleanor of an amour with her uncle. He was indeed (as we are assured by the archbishop of Tyre, who knew him well) the handsomest prince of his time, and more amiable still by the charms of his wit and demeanor, than by his beauty; which, added to the lustre of a great reputation for personal valour, might well seduce a lady's heart: nor was that princess less capable of inspiring than of feeling a violent passion. But one cannot easily believe that he would attempt to debauch his niece, much less to take her openly away from her husband, whose power he was very unable to resist. It is still more incredible, that she could so totally forget her own dignity, and all the pride of her sex, as to be willing to descend from the throne of the first kingdom in Europe, and live with him, as a mistress, while another lady, the princess Constantia, still kept possession of his bed, as a wife. To make room for her there, by a divorce, was not in his power: for, notwithstanding the wonderful and most scandalous easiness of the Roman see, in that age, with regard to the dissolving of marriage, the pope would not have given so monstrous a sanction to adultery, rape, and incest, all complicated together, upon any pretence; especially where so great a king was concerned. And by divorcing

restoring his wife, if it had been in his power;
 or ridding himself of her, by any other
 means, more practicable, and more wicked;
 Raymond would have lost his principality
 too; for he held it in right of his marriage.
 According to Matthew Paris, it was not on
 suspicion of an intrigue with this prince, Vid. Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1150.
 that with a Mahometan, whom he does not
 name, that the fame of Eleanor suffered.
 And Vincent de Beauvais, who wrote about
 the same time; imputes the suspicions, which
 Louis conceived of her, while he was in the Speculum hi- storiz, c. 128.
 East, to her having received some presents
 from Saladin; meaning, I presume, the great
 prince of that name, who, about thirty years
 afterwards, conquered the Holy land. But
 this was impossible: for that sultan was not
 then eleven years old. Nor does he ascribe
 her divorce to this alone, but to a general
 charge of incontinence; which is also brought
 against her by a contemporary writer, of the
 greatest authority, William archbishop of
 Tyre. Yet the latter has left his readers as
 much in the dark, as all the other historians Gul. Tyr. l. xvi. c. 27.
 who lived in those days, with regard to the
 person she intrigued with. Some of the Duplex et Mezerai grande histor.
 most eminent modern writers have affirmed,
 that the lover, whom Louis was jealous of, Voltaire hi- stoire des croisades.
 was a young Turk, born in the city of An- Histoire de Suger. l. vi. Vertot revol. de Malthe.
 tioch, and converted to Christianity a little
 before this crusade. They call him Saladin;
 and most of them tell us, that the queen was
 resolved to forsake her husband, and go off
 with

Book I.

Nouvel abre-
gé chronol.
de l'histoire
de France, et
alii.

V. Gest. Lud.
vii. reg. c. 15.
ap. Dachezac.

Gul. Tyr.
l. xvi. c. 27.

with this galant, by her uncle's advice. Such a story does not seem to merit the regard that they have given to it, especially not being vouched by any writer who lived in those times. Upon the whole, it is probable that the jealousy of the king had no other object than Prince Raymond himself, and was ill founded; having only been excited by some youthful levity in the queen's behaviour, and by the warmth she expressed for the interests of her uncle; or, at most, by an inclination, which she might discover, to stay with him at Antioch, while Louis was in Palestine, and which he might encourage, without meaning to cause a total separation between her and her husband.

This opinion is well warranted by the words of an historian who lived in that age. And the same writer adds, that there were many who blamed the king, for having, by the manner in which he left Antioch, disgraced the royal dignity: which is also confirmed by the archbishop of Tyre. Raymond was of a passionate and fiery temper, and might, in his anger, throw out some hasty words, which alarmed Louis, whose mind was liable to sudden impressions, and violent in all its motions. But to imagine, that the prince could have meditated, either the rape of the queen, or any attempt against the life of the king, is to suppose him a madman: for he must by such outrages have drawn on himself inevitable destruction; as the whole Christian



tian world would certainly have made them-
 selves the avengers of Louis, and he could
 expect no assistance even from his own sub-
 jects. In all other parts of his conduct he
 appears a man of good sense, and not so
 given up to the power of his passions as to
 have been absolutely deaf to the voice of his
 reason. When therefore the counsellors of
 Louis advised him to carry his queen out of
 Antioch, in the manner he did, they only
 flattered his humour, or were infected with
 a vain and imaginary fear, caught on a sud-
 den from him, without weighing the argu-
 ments of improbability, which opposed the
 belief of what he urged. Indeed there are
 so many instances, in all times, of ministers
 authorising the follies of kings from mere
 complaisance, that I rather should impute
 this advice to that motive, than to an error
 in judgment. As soon as Louis arrived at
 Jerusalem, he wrote to Abbot Suger a letter
 of confidence on this extraordinary business.
 It never was published: but the answer,
 which that minister made to it, we have,
 and it is in these words; "With regard to
 the queen, your consort, I presume to
 recommend to you, under submission to
 your own pleasure, that you should con-
 ceal the rancour of your mind, if any
 there be, till God shall give you a safe re-
 turn to your kingdom, when you may
 take the most proper measures, in this and
 other affairs."

V. Suger *epist.*
 ap. Duchesne,
epist. 57.

The

Book. I.

The words, *if any there be*, indicate, I think, very plainly, that Louis had no proof of guilt in Eleanor: for, had there appeared against her any thing more than suspicion, Suger could not have expressed a doubt, whether he retained his resentment. And, from all that is said by that minister on this subject, one may judge that he did not think the suspicion well founded. He could not say more, without directly blaming his master, for the steps he had already taken upon it; but this was enough to stop him from further acts of that nature, and to gain time for instilling into his mind such advice, as he would not have endured before his passion was cooled by reflexion. The effect was so good, that he not only continued to live with the queen, while they remained in the East, without any open marks of hatred or disgust, but had a child by her, who was born about five or six months after his return into France: which appears to afford a very strong presumption, that he was not convinced of her having dishonored his bed: for had he been so, it hardly can be supposed, that he would ever have admitted her to it again.

A. D. 1148. When the French arrived at Jerusalem, they found there the emperor Conrade, with whom Louis, after having sometime staid in that city, in order to pay his devotions at all the holy places, went to Ptolemais, or Accon, where a great council was held, to concert a plan of opera-

V. Gal. Tyr.
l. xvii. c. 1, 2,
3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

operations, for carrying on the war against the Mahometans. There were present, besides the princes and nobles of France, two legates of the pope; one of whom had attended the camp of the emperor, and the other that of Louis; Henry duke of Austria, the emperor's brother; Frederick duke of Suabia, his nephew; with many other nobles of Germany and of Italy; the young king of Jerusalem; and all the principal lords of his kingdom. After some deliberation, they unanimously resolved to lay siege to Damascus. Their forces united were sufficient to take that city, and they began very happily: but (as if a spirit of infatuation had seized all those who engaged in this war) they changed their attack, when it was just on the point of being successful, and deprived themselves of the benefit of provisions and water, which they had been plentifully supplied with, in their former situation, but found no possibility of procuring on the side which they had removed to. Nor could they return, when they discovered the ill consequences of what they had done; because all the approaches were seized by the enemy, and strengthened with barricades, and other defences, which had been wanting before. It is said, that this error in their conduct was owing to treacherous counsels, given by the nobles of Palestine; who, having notice of an intention, in the chiefs of the crusade, to deliver the city, when taken, to the earl of Flanders, as a state

Book I.

state independent on the kingdom of Jerusalem, were so much offended, that they rather wished to have it continue under the power of the Turks. Another reason assigned for it is, that they were influenced by the prince of Antioch to defeat this undertaking, because he maliciously desired to disgrace the French king. And a strong suspicion prevailed of their having been bribed by the Turks of Damascus. But these reports were all uncertain; nor (even admitting the truth of them) do they much serve to disculpate the emperor and his royal confederate, who certainly should not have altered the plan of their siege, without a more careful attention to what might ensue from it, in deference to any opinions or counsels.

The ill success of this enterprize, and the jealousy, which very naturally arose from thence, in the minds of the crusaders, that they were betrayed even by those they came to assist, made them unwilling to undertake any other. The emperor first departed, and returned home by sea, without any further disaster; and after him most of the Germans and the French; but Louis, desiring to do some act, which might serve the Christian cause in those parts of the world, lingered in Palestine as long as he could; till the seditious cabals of the earl of Dreux, his brother, against him, in France, and the pressing instances of abbot Suger, obliged him
to

V. Suger ep.
57, 94, 96.
Gest. Lud. vii.
c. 27.
Villefore vie
de Bernard.

to return to his kingdom. He failed to Calabria, and from thence went to Rome, where he very eagerly proposed to Eugenius the Third, who was still in that see, the sending of Bernard to preach another crusade, in which he declared himself willing and ready to join. This appears almost incredible: but the firmness of a hero is not so invincible as the obstinacy of a bigot. Louis had a mixture of both in his mind, especially of the latter, and imagined that the blood of his innocent subjects, shed by him at Vitry, would be washed off from his soul by that of the Infidels. Even the shame of having failed in this expedition impelled him to another, wherein, by pursuing a different plan of conduct, he hoped to recover the honor he had lost. But other princes were far from being in the same disposition. All Europe was full of loud complaints against Bernard. Two hundred thousand men had miserably perished in this crusade, which he had encouraged with prophecies of the most happy success: nor had one foot of land been gained from the Infidels, or the least service done to the Christians in Asia, for whose benefit it was undertaken. One cannot therefore wonder, that the public resentment should fall very heavy on the chief author of such a fatal delusion. The apology, which he made for himself in a letter to Eugenius the Third, was by no means sufficient. He pleaded there, that he had only preached the crusade in obedience

V. Bernard de
consideratione
ad Eugenium
pap. l. ii.

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K

to

to the orders received from that pope. But he did more than preach; he prophesied, and pretended to miracles. The pope did not command him to take on himself the character of a person inspired by God, nor to draw in the people by false predictions, to which he gained credit by an appearance of miracles equally false. For, to suppose that true miracles were really done by him, in confirmation of his having received revelations from God, which the event proved to be false, is such an absurdity, and such an impiety, as one would think superstition itself should reject. His plea, that the vices of those who had engaged in this expedition offended God and thereby changed the success which he had predicted, is frivolous. For (as the judicious historian, Vertot, well observes) *if he had been endowed with the gift of prophecy upon this occasion, he ought, by that supernatural light, to have known, that they would offend God, and therefore would be punished by all the misfortunes, with which they actually were overwhelmed, instead of those victories, which he, as God's minister, had made them expect.* It does not even appear from the evidence of any one contemporary author, that, during the course of this holy war, the enormities of the Germans and the French were so great as to deserve so grievous a punishment. The piety of Louis was most sincere; nor is he accused of any vice: and Conrade behaved himself, in every respect, like a good and re-

See Vertot
h'ist. de l'ordre
de Malte, l. i.
p. 101.

religious prince; which is the character given of him by every historian who has treated this subject. Their armies were kept by them in at least as good order, and practised all duties of morality or religion, with at least as much strictness, as those of the first crusade, which had been more successful. But even allowing the fact, that these were more vicious, the consequences drawn from it in justification of Bernard cannot be admitted. His predictions were *positive*, and under no *reserves* or *conditions*. Upon the whole, he had no excuse, but that, according to the general faith of those times, he thought it expedient and lawful to use *pious frauds*, for the advancement of a good and holy design, such as he took this to be. It was very natural, therefore, that the many sufferers by this fraud should be extremely incensed against the impostor, and against the pope himself, for the share he had in that ruinous enterprise, which had almost depopulated the best part of Europe. Eugenius, knowing this, contented himself with admiring and praising the zeal of Louis, and the ardor which he expressed for another crusade: but no other was formed till after Jerusalem had been conquered by Saladin, when that monarch again took the cross, with Henry the Second, king of England, the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and many other princes, as will be shewn in the latter part of this history. He and the queen of France arri-

Book I.

V. Gul. Tyr.
l. xvii. c. 2.

V. Suger
epist. 109.

Book I.

V. S. Dunel
hist. contin.
per J. Hagust.
sub ann. 1148.

ved safe in that kingdom, about the end of autumn, in the year eleven hundred and forty nine. Probably the earl of Meulant and Roger de Moubray returned in their company: for we are told, that soon afterwards they both came to England, and that the latter was celebrated above all his companions, for having vanquished an emir, or prince of the Turks, in single combat.

H. de Hont.
l. viii. f. 226.
sect. 2030.
Chron. Norm.
sub. ann. 1147.
Brandæo mon-
narch. Lusit.
par. iii.
Manuel de
Fari hist.
Portug.

A. D. 1146. But of all the adventurers, who had engaged in this crusade, none were so successful, as a fleet of private men, about fourteen thousand without reckoning the sailors; most of which number were English, but joined to some Normans, Flemings, and others, who associated themselves under several chiefs, or under one of so little distinction, that his name is not mentioned in the contemporary historians. They set sail from England for Ptolemais or Joppa; but were driven by storms into the river Tagus, just when Alphonso the First, king of Portugal, was besieging Lisbon, which was still possessed by the Moors. He was much startled at first, upon seeing this fleet, which he supposed came from Africa, or from some of the Mahometan princes in Spain, to the relief of the town: but when he found who they were, his fears were changed into joy; he went himself to receive them, and, with many caresses, besought them to assist him in conquering from the Infidels so important a place; which would be as meritorious a service to

Christen-

Christendom, and entitle them as much to all the indulgences granted by Rome, as making war against the Saracens or Turks of the East. They agreed to his reasoning, and, having joined their forces to his, took the city, after a long and brave defence. Thus was this capital of the kingdom of Portugal conquered from the Moors, in the year eleven hundred and forty seven, chiefly by the aid of the English and Normans. Alphonso, assisted by the same valiant allies, made himself master, soon afterwards, of other districts belonging to the Moors in those parts; which successes confirmed to that illustrious founder of the Portuguese monarchy the throne he had been raised to about ten years before.

But, while some of the English were thus maintaining the fame of the nation in foreign lands, England was miserably torn and distracted with all the rage of civil war, suffering still more by that inward clamity, than the Empire or France by the crusade. A contemporary writer says, that *more than a third of it's inhabitants perished*. Even those English who died in Asia, fighting for a cause they supposed to be holy were not so unhappy, as those who remained spectators or instruments of the ruin of their country, contending rather for the choice of a tyrant, or the superiority of one faction over another, than for any salutary change in the government.

Vid. Hist.
Ludov. vii.
Duchefne.

Gest. Steph.
Reg. p. 960.
963.
Gerv. Chron.
sub ann. 1143.

The joy that Matilda felt, from the victory won by the earl of Gloucester at Wilton, was quickly damped, by the news she heard of the unfortunate death of Milo earl of Hereford. After having escaped the greatest dangers of war, which no man ever braved with more intrepidity, he was accidentally shot through the heart by an arrow, which one of his own knights, whom he took out to hunt in company with him, aimed at a stag, that passed between them.

Gest. Steph.
Reg. p. 961.

It seems as if Providence, by balancing thus the success of Matilda with this unexpected misfortune to her party, of which that gentleman had been one of the strongest supports, meant to prolong the punishment of the nation, which, by an universal corruption, had drawn on itself the scourge of this civil war. The complicated guilt of perjury, faction, and shameless venality, lay heavy upon it, and was naturally and justly followed by a general ruin. Besides all the mischiefs described before, a terrible famine now raged in most parts of England; the war and the many vexations that the people endured, having occasioned, for some years past, a failure of tillage. The flesh of horses and dogs, with other unusual and loathsome food, which they were taught to use by dire necessity, became the chief support of the poor; infinite numbers of them dying of hunger, or of epidemical distempers, produced

duced by bad nourishment. For though in this year, eleven hundred and forty three, the season was favorable, and wherever the lands had been tilled the crop was good, it was in many places left standing, and suffered to rot on the ground, for want of hands to cut it down; because most of the husbandmen had fled with their families out of the realm, and others, having been forced to quit their dwellings, had built wretched huts, in church-yards, or round the walls of the churches hoping to find a sanctuary there, against the oppressions and cruelties of the soldiery; and not daring to depart from thence to their labour: so that they not only suffered the present famine, but continued that calamity to the following year. These miseries were, indeed, more grievously felt in those parts of England, which still remained under the dominion of Stephen, or were the theatre of the war between the two parties. For, after the victory gained at Wilton, the earl of Gloucester took care that the counties, in which his sister's authority was quietly settled, should not be harrassed by disorders from his own troops, or any unnecessary exactions. But of this advantage the sudden change of affairs, which happened not long afterwards, deprived them again, and made them as miserable as the rest of the kingdom. The young prince, by whom Providence designed to deliver them from all these evils, was not yet mature for such a work; and

Ibid. p. 963,

neither Stephen, nor Matilda, was fit to perform it. Perhaps no civil war was ever carried on, for so long a time, with so little affection, or esteem, in either of the parties for the sovereign whom they fought for, or with so much indifference to the good of the publick. It had been, for several years, a mere conflict of factions, kept up by the hatred that they bore to each other, by the pride of not acknowledging themselves overcome, or by the fear of submitting to those whom they had injured. And thus it continued, till Henry Plantagenet appeared on the scene, and till the spirit of party, fatigued at length, and exhausted by the violence of it's own fury, began to subside, and yield to a general desire of tranquillity, under the authority of a king, who knew how to make himself both feared and beloved.

After the disgrace that the arms of Stephen had suffered at Wilton, he kept himself entirely upon the defensive: but, during the spring of the year eleven hundred and

A. D. 1144.

Neubrigenfis, l. i. c. 11.
Gervase, et Huntingdon, sub ann. 1144.
Gest. Steph. Reg. p. 963.
964.

forty four, he either found, or made, by a groundless suspicion, a new and dangerous enemy, in one of his greatest and most intimate friends, Geoffry de Magnavilla, to whom, with other grants, he had given the earldom of Essex. This nobleman had been always attached to his service; and no other was more capable of serving him well: for he had a most intrepid courage, and an understanding which conducted that courage with

with prudence; great skill in the art of war, and no less sagacity in matters of state. His morals were perfectly suitable to the times. He regarded the king more than the publick, and his own interest more than the king; was utterly void of religion, and had a heart steeled by nature against any tender checks of humanity. Thus qualified to advance himself in civil commotions he gained the highest rank in the army of Stephen, and a principal share of the government; acting as his lieutenant over all parts of the kingdom, wherein the power of that prince was acknowledged. The superiority of his genius gave him such an ascendant, that his commands, in most places, were better obeyed than his master's. But some unkindness had arisen between him and the queen, occasioned by his detaining the princess Constantia, espoused to Eustace, in the tower of London, of which he was governor, when she was desirous to remove her from thence; which he did, either to keep so important a charge in his own hands, or from an opinion that he could not be justified, in letting her depart from that place, where the king had been pleased to lodge her under his care, without having an express command from himself. This seems the most probable; because, upon receiving an order from him, he gave her up. And, though in the desperate state of Stephen's affairs, after the battle of Lincoln, he, with all the other noblemen who served that prince, except Wil-

William of Ipres, submitted to Matilda, and not only was confirmed by her in his earldom, but received additional favors (as appears by two charters granted to him that year;) yet he soon left her, and returned to the party of the king; who continued to employ him in his posts of the highest trust, for more than three years. Nevertheless, he now gave ear to some of his favorites, who envied this great earl, and suggested suspicions, as if, besides his having arrogantly usurped to himself too large a share of sovereign power to the apparent dishonor of the king, he meant to betray him to the empress. It does not appear, that there was any evidence of such an intention in him, except popular rumours, and the remembrance of the dispute between him and the queen, which was revived at this time, and helped to exasperate his master against him. While he attended the court of that prince at St. Albans, in a parliamentary council, he was, without legal process, upon a general charge of treason brought against him by some of the barons, thrown into prison, and threatened with an ignominious death on a gibbet, if he did not give up to the king the tower of London, and his castles of Walden and Pleshy in Essex. He could hardly be induced, by the terrors of death, to submit to these conditions, imposed upon him so roughly, and with so much dishonor: but, being overcome by the persuasions of some of his friends, he yielded

yielded at last, and was released; after which he very soon declared for Matilda, as Stephen had certainly great cause to expect. The cabal of his enemies in the court of that king, who, by driving him out of it, had served their own purposes, saw this with pleasure: but the party in general was greatly alarmed at it, expecting much mischief from a man of his abilities, so highly provoked, and then set at liberty to pursue his revenge. His actions justified these apprehensions. For, besides his own vassals, he now gathered about him, from all parts of England, a band of robbers and outlaws, who were then very numerous, both from the licentiousness and the misery of the times; and having thus formed a considerable army, he maintained it by pillaging religious houses and churches, and by all other acts of violence, rapine, and cruelty, that men so hardened in wickedness could commit. The town of Cambridge was sacked by them, and the country about it laid waste, before Stephen could come up with forces sufficient to make head against them. At his approach, the earl of Essex retired from Cambridge to the neighbouring fens; whether the king durst not pursue him, but contented himself with only building some castles, in order to check his incursions; and then returned. While he was employed in other parts, the earl made a furious attack on those castles; Hugh Bigot, earl of Norfolk, confederating with him in that attempt.

attempt. It seems very surprising, that this lord, by whose testimony, falsely and corruptly given, Stephen had been assisted to gain the crown, and who had therefore reason to think himself irreconcilably ill with Matilda, should take a part so repugnant to all his former conduct. I find no cause assigned for it in any historian; but those times were much accustomed to levities of this kind; the barons changing sides, upon the least discontent, without any sense of shame; and the very idea of loyalty seeming to be effaced from most of their minds. It appears, indeed, that Hugh Bigot intended rather to act *against Stephen* than *for Matilda*; keeping himself in a state of independence, within the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, where his chief power lay. Perhaps the earl of Essex might have the same views: for, as that nobleman neither went to the court of Matilda, nor received from her any new confirmation of the grants, which she had made to him before, and which he had forfeited by returning to Stephen, it looks as if he had never negotiated with her after that time, and as if, even now, she was not cordially reconciled to him, but distrusted and desired to keep him at a distance. In that case he would naturally fall in with the plan pursued by Hugh Bigot; and, when joined together, they might hope to form a *third party*, which would become strong enough to overpower both the others, or at least to turn

turn the scale in favor of that, to which it finally should incline. Several reasons induce me to believe, that this project was concerted between the two earls: but it was defeated before it came to maturity, by one of those accidents, which blast at once the fairest hopes, and overturn the best laid designs of ambition. While the earl of Essex was besieging one of the castles near Cambridge, which Stephen had erected, and after he had made a successful attack, which brought him very nigh to the foot of the rampart, the weather being hot, and thinking himself secure from any danger (as he was in the midst of his own troops, and the enemy was retired within the castle walls) he took off his helmet, to breathe with more liberty. But he was observed by a foot-soldier belonging to the garrison, who, shooting an arrow, from a loop-hole of the castle, against his bare head, gave him a wound, that did not pierce, but razed the skull-bone. He thought lightly of it, and continued to attend the operations of the siege, till, by his neglect, it proved mortal. The manner of his death gave the clergy occasion to impute it to an extraordinary judgment of God; because he had been excommunicated on account of the sacrileges, which he and his troops had committed. They availed themselves also of some other like accidents, which happened to other barons, who, for the same offences, had incurred the same censures.

Book I.

H. Huntingd.
subann. 1144.

Gest. Steph.
Reg. p. 962.

censures. Indeed they greatly wanted the help of such terrors, to preserve them from the rapine and outrages of the soldiery; for the restraining of which, a decree had lately been made, in a legatine synod, which the bishop of Winchester held at London in the presence of Stephen, that whosoever should do any violence to an ecclesiastic should not be absolved, but by the pope himself, and not even by him, unless it were *in his presence*: that is, all such offenders were forced to go to Rome for a pardon. Thus did the clergy endeavour to defend their persons and goods, by spiritual arms, and by the influence of popular superstitions, against the danger of the times, when all other means had proved ineffectual. And we are told, that it was of use to them. But a contemporary writer says, that greater barbarities were committed, by some of the bishops themselves, in oppressing their neighbours, and forcibly taking from them their money and effects, than by any of those whom they threatened with divine vengeance. Most of them, according to the account of that author, but more particularly the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and Chester, were frequently seen in arms, like the temporal barons, going out upon parties with an extraordinary ostentation of military pomp, marring, and pillaging the country all round their episcopal castles, and even taking for themselves a share of the plunder. If any person

person of condition fell into their hands, they immediately threw him into a dungeon, and, by the most horrible torments, extorted from him an immoderate ransom. It is no wonder, that, from beholding such examples in their pastors, the people should suppose, that religion and morality had little or no connexion, the one with the other, and that such an opinion should produce an universal depravity.

The military operations of the year eleven A. D. 1146. hundred and forty-five, after the death of the earl of Essex, produced no events considerable enough to be particularly dwelt upon here: but in the following spring there happened an action of very great importance. The earl of Gloucester had built a strong castle at Faringdon, to check the excursions of the enemy's horsemen from the city of Oxford, and left a garrison there, which was able to restrain, not only that of Oxford, but all the other which belonged to several castles, held for the king in those parts, and straitened them in such a manner, as to make them apprehensive of wanting subsistence; for most of them were nourished by the plunder of the country, and many had no other pay. This Stephen found of so much prejudice to him, that he came, with all the best of his forces, to besiege this troublesome fort. But, lest the earl of Gloucester should attempt to relieve it, he threw up
lines,

lines, to secure his army; and then, making use of all the battering engines, that were known to the military art of those times, he carried on his attacks with great alacrity and good conduct. The garrison made a brave defence, and much blood was shed on both sides: but, at length, the governor and the principal officers apprehending, that they might be severely treated by Stephen, if the place should, in the end, be taken by storm, resolved to capitulate; and, without the consent or knowledge of the soldiers, who were desirous to hold out much longer, opened the gates, and yielded themselves, with their whole garrison prisoners of war, upon no better conditions, than that the knights, or men at arms, should be set free, upon paying their ransom.

During the siege, the earl of Gloucester had advanced to observe the king's entrenchments, with such a body of troops as he could collect: but, finding them very strong, he durst not attack them, without a greater army; and, while he was drawing his friends together, which, from his confidence in the valour of the garrison, he thought he had time to do, the place was surrendered. This was the worst disgrace that had ever befallen him: for, though his troops had been beaten, his officers never before had shewn any baseness; and these were some in whom he had placed a special trust. The reputation of the king was so increased, and his affairs were
so



so mended, by the success of his arms in this attempt, that Matilda's adherents began to think, her party could not possibly support itself long: which opinion alone was sufficient to undo her. A great desertion from her immediately followed. Even some of those friends, upon whose zeal and attachment she believed that she had reason to depend most securely, forsook her now. The earl of Chester himself, her brother's son-in-law, on whom she had conferred extraordinary obligations, and whose animosity against Stephen had been, of late, more furious than ever, came to that prince as a suppliant; and expressing great sorrow for what he had done to offend him, obtained his pardon.

Gest. Steph.
Reg. p. 964.
968, 969.
Huntingd. et
Neubrigenf.
sub ann. 1145.
1146.

This was a mighty advantage to the king; for one third of the kingdom was actually in the power of that great earl, and some of his estates were so situated, that they broke and divided all which remained to Matilda. To prove his sincerity, and merit the favor of the sovereign he returned to, he attended on him in person, with three hundred knights, the flower of his vassals, at the siege of the town of Bedford; greatly assisted him in taking that place, which had held out against him from the beginning of the war; and did him other good services, such as would have gained his affection and confidence, if affection and confidence could be given to one, who, unprovoked by any injury, changes his party, upon a decline of its fortune. Se-

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duced

daced by his example, and by the general opinion of the superiority which the king had now gained, even the younger son of the earl of Gloucester went off from the empress, and having obtained good terms from Stephen, who paid him in proportion to the enormity of his treason, made war upon her as sharply as the worst of her enemies. He did not even respect his father's lands; but ravaged and laid them waste, in a most barbarous manner; as if he desired to distinguish his zeal for the service of his new master, by a fury approaching to parricide: a shocking instance, how far, in those execrable times, ambition and interest prevailed over all the ties of duty and nature! It happened soon afterwards, that Reginald earl of Cornwall, his father's half-brother, was sent plenipotentiary from Matilda to Stephen, in order to treat of a peace between them; and, as he was on his journey, this young lord intercepted, and took him prisoner, with all his attendants. Stephen, who had given a safe conduct to the earl, was much offended, and instantly commanded him to be released: but it was not without difficulty, and after many repeated orders, that he was obeyed. As for the treaty, it soon broke off, without success; Matilda demanding the kingdom from Stephen, and he refusing to resign the least part of it to her, on any terms. Her demand was indeed extravagant in her present situation. For the death of the earl of

Vid. auctores
citat. ut suprà.

Hereford

Hereford, the shameful surrender of Faringdon castle, the loss of Bedford, and above all, the defection of the earl of Chester, succeeded by that of the earl of Gloucester's own son, had greatly weakened her party. It seemed on all sides, to be breaking and falling to ruin. The earl of Gloucester alone remained immoveably fixed on the firm basis of virtue, amidst the shocks of this revolution. The more strongly Stephen's power and fortune prevailed, the more courageously did his great spirit oppose itself to them, and endeavour to supply, by its own single force, all that the levity and perfidy of his friends, or the disastrous events of war, had taken from Matilda. As no interested complaisance could ever induce him to flatter her passions, so neither could any prospect of advantage entice, nor any resentment provoke him, to abandon her service. He saw her disregard and reject his good counsels; he saw her destroy, by her insolence and perverseness, the advantages he had gained for her, and the wise schemes he had formed to establish her power; yet he continued to support her, correcting by his prudence the effects of her folly, and opposing by his courage the dangers she brought upon herself and her friends. But, with all his abilities, he could not restore to her the affection of the public; and *that* being gone, there remained no principle in the party, of force sufficient to keep them long together, against the im-

pulse of fear and interest, which urged them to quit her sinking cause. Nor could Stephen have failed of recovering the whole kingdom, if he had known how to use his good fortune.

Gerv. Chron.
sub ann. 1146.

When the earl of Anjou was apprised of these events in England, he felt a paternal anxiety for Henry, his son; apprehending danger to him, both from the prevailing arms of Stephen, and from the treachery of his own adherents. On this account, and because he much desired to see him, after an absence that had lasted four years, he sent to the earl of Gloucester, and earnestly begged of him, that the prince, who then was at Bristol, might come over to Normandy; promising that, in case it should be found necessary, he would, when his affection had been indulged with the sight of him, allow him soon to return. The earl of Gloucester, though unwilling to comply with this request, submitted to it, and conducted his nephew to Wareham, who embarking there had a prosperous voyage to Normandy: but they parted to meet no more: for, at the beginning of November, in the year eleven hundred and

A. D. 1146. forty-six, the earl died of a fever, occasioned, perhaps, by grief at the treason of his son, and the bad state in which he saw his sister's affairs. Of all the misfortunes that lately had afflicted and depressed her, the loss of him was the greatest. He was unquestionably the

the wisest man of those times; and his virtue was such, that even those times could not corrupt it. If, when the nation was grown equally tired of Matilda and of Stephen, he had aspired to obtain the crown for himself, he might very possibly have gained it from them both: but he thought it less glorious to be a king, than to preserve his fidelity and honor inviolate. He seems to have acted only from the purest and noblest principles of justice and duty, without pride, without passion, without any private views, or selfish ambition: and to this admirable temper of mind he joined all the address and extensive abilities, that are particularly necessary for *the head of a party*, who must connect and keep together great numbers of independent persons, held by no regular bond of obedience; conciliate their different passions and interests, endure their absurdities, sooth their ill-humour, manage their pride, and establish an absolute authority over them, without seeming to exercise any, but that of persuasion. This, at all times, is a very difficult task, and was more especially so to the earl of Gloucester; every nobleman, who joined with Matilda, thinking himself a confederate, rather than a subject; and she regarding herself as a sovereign, whom even her brother was obliged implicitly to obey, without ever presuming to dispute her commands. But, when he was dead, she quickly found, that her power

V. Joh. Saris-
bur. epist. ad
episcop. Wi-
gorn.

was neither sufficient to govern her party, nor to resist that of Stephen. There was nothing but confusion, distrust, and dismay, in her court, and in her council. Her army wanted a general, and she could find none of abilities equal to the command of it, or whose authority the other barons were willing to submit to. If the earl of Anjou, her husband, had thought it adviseable to come into England, with a strong army of Angevins and of Normans, and boldly put himself at the head of her party, he might, perhaps, have given a new spirit to it. This, one would think, he should have done, at such a juncture of time, if not for her sake, yet out of regard to his son, whose succession might be defeated by her expulsion. He had lately suppressed a revolt in Anjou, and was entirely master of Normandy : but either he believed that the tranquillity of those countries was yet too unsettled, to permit him to withdraw his forces from thence, and transport them to England; or he was stopped by the difficulty of deciding what rank he should hold in this kingdom. Matilda therefore had no resource, which could supply the loss of the earl of Gloucester. Courage and resentment still combated in her heart with despair; nor was it without the greatest and most painful reluctance, that she gave way to the necessity of leaving a country, over which she had so long expected to reign. But, in less than four months after the

Serv. Chron.
sub ann. 1146.

the death of her brother, seeing no possibility of supporting her party, and fearing to fall into the hands of her enemy, she was constrained to abandon England, and go into Normandy, to live with a husband whom she never had loved, and who did not love her, but was generous or prudent enough to receive her with kindness, in this decline of her fortune, when her pride was humbled by her sorrow. Nevertheless he retained to himself the dominion of that dutchy, as he had held it in her absence; that is, without any dependence upon her. Instead of submitting to this, she would perhaps have staid in England, and buried herself under the ruins of her own greatness, if the anguish of her mind had not been soothed by the hope, that Prince Henry, her son, might, when he should attain to an age of maturity, be able to revenge her on Stephen, and recover the crown which she had lost. Her whole care was therefore employed upon his education. She laboured to inspire him with thoughts as high as her own; to give him an ardor for glory, an ambition for empire, and a spirit of conquest. His genius was very suitable to such instructions; but the fire he drew from her was happily tempered with the lessons of prudence and humanity, which he had been taught in England by his uncle; and which his father, a prince of great discretion and judgment, continued to fix in his mind.

Geft. Step.
Reg. 968.
970, 971.

The death of the earl of Glocester, and the retreat of Matilda, would have given Stephen a quiet poffeffion of England, at leaft till Henry could have been capable of difputing it with him, if he had kept the earl of Chefter his friend. But he loft him, as he, before, had loft the earl of Effex; by jealous fufpicions, and violent proceedings in confequence of thofe fufpicions.

It has already been told, with how much ardor and forwardnefs this lord had diftinguifhed himfelf in his fervice, after their reconciliation; and this year he gave him a new testimony of his zeal, by affifting him in an operation of very great moment, the building of a fort, to block up the caftle of Wallingford, which did him more hurt than any other yet remaining in the hands of his enemies. That work being accomplifhed, a great council was held by Stephen in the town of Northampton. The meeting was much fuller than any had been for fome years; and, the power of the crown appearing to be now in a good meafure recovered, the earl of Chefter very properly took this opportunity to make his complaints, that his county had fuffered grievoufly, by the incurfions and ravages of the Welch on the borders; againft whom he entreated the affiftance of the crown, and ftrongly preffed the king to go thither in perfon, as the moft effectual meafure to ftrike a terror into that people,

people. In order to remove the objections, which he feared would be made, on account of the charge that such an expedition would bring upon the king, whose coffers were empty, he declared, that he himself would pay all the forces, and furnish them with all necessaries at his own cost. Stephen at first inclined to grant this request; and undoubtedly his own honor was much concerned, to stop these incursions made by the Welsh into the provinces belonging to England, and confine them to their own limits. He had been forced, for many years, during the heat of the civil war, to neglect the defence of his English subjects in Wales and the bordering counties; and had suffered greatly from those Welsh, whom the earl of Gloucester had led even into the heart of his kingdom. But now, when his other enemies were almost subdued, it highly became him to think of repressing those insults, and endeavour to recover his own reputation, which was sunk by such a long and tame acquiescence. He therefore promised the earl of Chester to march to his aid; and nothing was said against it in the great council: but in private all his favorites opposed that intention, representing to him the danger of engaging his troops, and risking his person, in the woods and mountains of Wales, where he would certainly be attacked by ambushes laid for him in every pass; besides the great difficulty of finding provisions for his army,
and

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and what they supposed still more hazardous, the indiscretion of putting himself in the power of a man, who had so long rebelled against him, and whose fidelity now seemed very doubtful, as he had not given any hostages, nor even restored the royal castle of Lincoln, and other possessions usurped by him, or unduly gained, from the crown. Of these they advised the king to demand immediate restitution, and also such other pledges, as might be sufficient to secure him against the perfidy of the earl: adding, that, if the earl refused to give them, he ought to be treated, not as a friend, but a traitor, and thrown into prison, to force him to a compliance.

This was strange counsel, and such, indeed, as could come from none but those ministers, who had occasioned the revolt of the best part of the nation, by the arbitrary measures, in which they had engaged or encouraged their master. Whether it was advisable for him to consent at that time, to the earl of Chester's desire, was a disputable question; and reasons of prudence might induce him to decline it: but, as the surrender of Lincoln castle and other demesnes of the crown, which the earl enjoyed as his own, under the title of former grants, had not been required of him in the late reconciliation between him and Stephen, there was no colour of justice to ask it of him now, much less to extort it from him by violence.

It

It does not appear that he had done any act, to make him reasonably suspected of treason; and if an *unwarranted suspicion* could justify such a proceeding, a tyrant would always be justified; for he may always *suspect* when he desires to *oppress*. The iniquity of it appeared too glaring even to Stephen himself; or at least he apprehended ill consequences from it; for, at first, he expressed a great unwillingness to consent to it: but his eager desire of recovering Lincoln castle, which he had vainly endeavoured to take by force, gave so much weight to the arguments of those who incited him to this act of oppression, that he permitted them to put their advice in immediate execution. They went directly to the earl, whom they found in the court not suspicious of any unfriendly intention against him, and informed him of all the king's demands. He replied, with the utmost astonishment, that it was not for this he had come to attend his sovereign in the great council; that he had not received any notice of such demands, nor consulted his friends what answer he ought to make: upon which some of them began to revile and accuse him of treasonable designs; and, soon proceeding from words to deeds, arrested and committed him to the king's soldiers there present, who threw him into a dungeon, loaded with irons. When the news of his being treated in so ignominious a manner was carried to his vassals, they

Vid. auctores
citat. ut supra.

Gest. Steph.
Reg. p. 971,
ad 973.
H. Huntingd.
et Ger. Chron.
were sub ann. 1147.

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were filled with indignation, and the much greater part of them would have taken up arms, to force the king to set him free. But others, who were more prudent, restrained their impetuosity, out of a just apprehension of danger to his life; and advised him to yield what the king had required of him, that he might recover his liberty and with it the ability of being revenged. He did so, and was released; but not without giving hostages, and an oath to the king, that he would not make war against him. These securities were ineffectual. The first act of the earl, after his hands were unfettered, was to attack that monarch with great fury. He considered his oath as constrained, and therefore void; or, being hardened to perjury by the mode of the times, paid no regard to it: nor was he stopped by a concern for the hostages he had given, thinking that, as they were persons, on whose friendship the king had reason to set a high value, they would have nothing to fear from his resentment. Several times he fought with Stephen, defeated and wounded him in one engagement; nor, when beaten, was he subdued; his vassals being so numerous, his castles so strong, and his power so diffused, that, if he was driven away from one part of the kingdom, he presently appeared with new force in another. The king indeed, upon his violating the oath he had taken, had imprisoned his nephew, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Hertford,

Hertford, who was one of his hostages: and would not set him free, till he had given up all his castles, as a fine to the crown for the offence of his uncle: but by this he made him a bitter enemy, instead of a faithful and affectionate servant, as he had hitherto been. Nor did he lose him alone: for the earl of Pembroke desiring to have these castles, to which, by his relation in blood to the earl of Hertford, his brother's son, he had a natural claim, and being repulsed in his suit, was so disgusted, that he also resolved to join the earl of Chester, or was suspected of such a purpose, upon his having secretly left the court. Stephen, to whose mind suspicion was proof, immediately followed him, with all the troops he had ready; and coming upon him unexpectedly, before he could reach the nearest of his castles, would have taken him prisoner, if he had not escaped, as soon as he saw the royal army appear, by changing his habit, and flying in disguise.

V. auctores
citat. ut supra.

Thus was the great and powerful house of Clare, which, through the whole civil war, had ever been remarkably zealous for the king, alienated from him, and driven to his enemies, together with the earl of Chester; an unexpected reinforcement, which restored their dejected spirits and courage, just at the time when they were sinking into peace and submission.

Nothing

Nothing indeed could be more prejudicial to all his own interests, than the part which Stephen took with regard to that nobleman. The desertion from Matilda, begun by him, would probably, on the retreat of that princess from England, have been followed by all the principal lords of her party, as fast as they could make their agreements with the king, and a general act of oblivion would have certainly brought in the rest, if he had shewn a disposition to keep his faith sincerely with those who submitted. For, as there remained no longer in the party any affection for Matilda, and her son was too young to have excited in them such sentiments, as produced a fixed attachment, nothing but fear and distrust of Stephen could withhold them from seeking to be reconciled to him, and forsaking a sovereign, from whom they had now no reason to expect either reward or protection. But when they saw, by the evidence of so great an example, how dangerous it would be to put any confidence in the king's pardon; and that no services, done him upon a reconciliation, could secure their possessions against his claims, or the liberty of their persons against his suspicions, despair held them together, and forced them to keep up a head of rebellion, without much regarding for what prince they contended.

This was the state of the war in England till the year eleven hundred and forty nine.

But,

But, during the course of seven or eight years preceding that period, some changes had happened in the affairs of the church, which in themselves are worth attention, and in their consequences were very important.

From the time that the bishop of Winchester had abandoned Matilda, his being invested, as legate, with the authority of the pope, was of no small advantage to Stephen: for while he enjoyed that authority, it kept the church of England dependent on him, and, by his mediation, on his brother. But it was grievous to the archbishop of Canterbury, who saw himself subjected to one of his suffragans. As Innocent the Second, who had given this legation to the bishop of Winchester, would not revoke it, the archbishop was compelled, however reluctant, to submit to the power of it; and, what was still harder, to the insolent use which the bishop made of that power, on purpose to mortify him, as long as that pontiff continued in the chair. But Celestine the Second succeeding to the papacy in the year eleven hundred and forty three, and being a friend of the Angevin family, under whose patronage he had been educated, absolutely refused to renew the bishop's commission, and listened very eagerly to many accusations which the empress Matilda and the archbishop of Canterbury sent to Rome against him. This was a terrible blow to the party of

V. S. Danesh.
hist. contin.
per Joh. Prior.
Hagstald.
sub ann. 1144.
1146.
Gerv. act.
pontif. Cantuar.
p. 1665.
et Chron.
p. 1360.

V. Bernard.
epist. 235.

disabled from attending it, by some disturbances, which troubled his diocese; but the bishop of the Orcades, the abbot of York, and the abbot of Whiteby, took the oath required by the pope, in his stead; and William took that, which was demanded from him, as a proof of his innocence with regard to the bribery laid to his charge: whereupon he was consecrated there by the legate, no man appearing to accuse or oppose him in any manner; and the people expressing a great desire to have him for their archbishop. But, Innocent being dead, Bernard applied to his successor Celestine, whose inclination to mortify the house of Blois he well knew, and wrote a letter to him against the archbishop, still more furious than those he had written to Innocent, calling that respectable prelate *a filthy and infamous person*, with other very outrageous terms of reproach. The whole foundation that appears in these letters for so much abuse is only a suggestion, that the bishop of Durham had staid away from the council of Winchester because he was afraid to take a false oath; from whence Bernard inferred, that the archbishop's election had not been canonical, and that the oaths of the three prelates, who swore in behalf of him, deserved no regard. The passions of Celestine concurring with his, he so far prevailed, that William could not obtain his pall from that pontiff: but this persecution of him was stopt by Celestine's death; and

Lucius, the next pope, sent him the pall by his legate, Cardinal Hicmar. He would now have been fixed in his metropolitan see without opposition; if, from an indolence natural to a mind absorbed in devotion, he had not neglected to go to London and receive his pall from the legate, till Lucius died; which event entirely changed the state of his fortune: for a new appeal being made by his adversaries, against his election, to Eugenius the Third, Hicmar thought himself obliged to carry the pall back with him to Rome. Eugenius, who had been a disciple of Bernard, seemed to regard him still as his master and spiritual father; so great was the deference which he paid to his judgment in all affairs! Of this Bernard himself was so sensible and so vain, that, in a letter he wrote to him concerning the business of the archbishop of York, he could not forbear to boast of it in the following words: *It is said that not you, but I, am pope,* V. Bernard, epist. 239. *and those that have business with the see of Rome come to me from all parts of the world.* It was very true, that they did so; and all the influence he had gained over the mind of that pontiff was now exerted against the archbishop, whom he had hitherto attacked to no purpose. He called on his Holiness, V. epist. 240. as successor of St. Peter, to destroy this *Ananias*, this *Simon Magus*. And in a subsequent letter he renewed the assault with still greater violence, confidently asserting,

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that the bishop of Durham, whose oath had been required to purge the archbishop of York of the accusation brought against him, as having been intruded into his see by the royal authority, had since confirmed it, by a letter to the legate, whom Pope Lucius the Second had sent into England. But, lest Eugenius should not think this testimony sufficient to condemn the archbishop, as three other clergymen, of eminent dignity and very good characters, had sworn to the contrary, he added, *that common fame had reported such things of him, as would be reasons not only for deposing a bishop, but for degrading a soldier.* By what means these accusations, if they were calumnious, are to be reconciled with the piety of St. Bernard, or, if they were true, with the piety of St. William, the church which prays to them both would do wisely to consider. Certainly, the great rancour with which they were urged, and some of them (as Bernard himself acknowledged) on no better grounds than *common fame*, or rather on the report of the archbishop's enemies, shews in that abbot a temper unbecoming a good man and a Christian. All his proceedings in this affair seem to have been instigated by a spirit of cabal, and a partial affection for his own order, to which the adversaries of William belonged. But Eugenius relied so much on his sentiments, and was also so moved by the persuasions of another Cistercian monk, Henry Murdac, who

who engaged with a bitter zeal against the archbishop, that he refused to give the pall to that prelate, though the whole consistory was on his side. How far he himself may be supposed to have been biased by a regard for the order, in the honor of which (as he had belonged to it) he might imagine that his own was partly concerned, I shall not determine: but undoubtedly he acted with great partiality. Presently after this time, he came into France, and called a council at Rheims, to which he summoned all the French and English bishops. But Stephen, extremely offended at his conduct, both on the account of the archbishop of York, and of the bishop of Winchester, whose commission he refused to renew, shewed a proper resentment, by absolutely forbidding the bishops of England to go out of the realm, and in particular the archbishop of Canterbury, whom he chiefly suspected of intriguing with the pope to his prejudice. That prelate, having ineffectually desired his permission, resolved to go without it, and finding the ports so strictly guarded, that he was unable to procure any ship for his passage, put to sea, from some of the open parts of the coast, in a small crazy boat; and so, with much difficulty and hazard of his life, past over to France. When he took his seat in the council, Eugenius made a high panegyrick upon him; *for having*, as his Holiness was pleased to express it, *swum rather than*

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Gerv. ibid.
col. 1365.

sailed from England to France, out of the reverence and obedience be paid to St. Peter and to the orders of Rome. The other English bishops obeyed the king and the laws of their country: for which they were put, by the authority of the pope, under spiritual censures. So strong was the conflict between the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions!

In this council Pope Eugenius determined the cause of the archbishop of York, or rather, he there pronounced that sentence against him, which he had before resolved to pass. The good prelate, finding his Holiness ill affected towards him, and having a mind that hated contention, had left the court of Rome, and gone into Sicily, where he now lived retired, under the amicable protection of the king, his relation. Eugenius thought proper to judge him during his absence, and on the sole testimony of his accusers, the chief of whom was Henry Murdac. All the accusations brought against him, except the intervention of the royal authority in his election, were now let drop; which is a strong proof of his innocence with respect to the aspersions thrown upon him by Bernard. His life and manners, undoubtedly, were most severely examined, and if any objection could have been made to them, the council would have heard of it, as well as Eugenius, from that eloquent abbot: but to accuse him in publick was a more difficult and hazardous matter than to defame

St. Dunelm.
hist. contin.
per J. Prior.
Hagustald.
sub ann. 1147.

defame him in a private letter. Yet, clear as the was of all the stains, which malice and slander had endeavoured to fix on his character, the bishop of Ostia, *by the apostolick authority, that is, in the name of the pope, not of the council, pronounced, that he should be deposed from his see, because Stephen, king of England, had nominated him to it before a canonical election.* In vain did a majority of the cardinals in the council remonstrate to the pope, that a person of his high rank and good reputation ought not to be thus condemned unheard... In vain did Abbot Suger, *in a very sensible speech, declare, that, even admitting the charge against him, it could not justly be made a reason to annul his election, because kings had a right to point out to the chapters those subjects who would be most agreeable to them.* His doctrine was not agreeable to the pope; and councils then were the mere tools of the papal authority. Nor did Eugenius judge wrong, according to the political maxims of Rome, in seizing the opportunity of a weak reign in England, to establish a precedent for subverting the rights of all princes, and taking from them even the liberty of *recommenda*tion in the election of bishops. All opposition was therefore fruitless; and William being deposed, the chapter of York, *upon the pope's mandate,* proceeded to elect another archbishop, without consulting the king, who seemed to be also deposed from his dignity and royal prerogatives.

Vide Suger,
l. vi.
Fleuri, *histoire ecclesiastique*,
l. lxx.

Gerv. Chron.
sub ann. 1147.
Neubrig. l. i.
c. 17.

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rogatives. The majority of the chapter chose Hilary bishop of Chichester: but a faction among them having voted for Henry Murdac, abbot of Fountain, a double return was made to Eugenius: whereupon that pontiff confirmed the election of Murdac, his favorite, and immediately consecrated him with his own hands. So flagrantly were the rights both of the clergy and crown of England violated by the pope, who made himself the sole master of this election, in a manner absolutely unknown before to our church, and which is spoken of with disgust even by some of the monks who wrote in those days. The deposed archbishop, when he knew the sentence passed against him, returned into England, and retired to the house of his friend the bishop of Winchester, where he employed all his time in the practice of devotion, without the least murmur or complaint of the injury done him; without either saying himself, or caring to hear, a reproachful word said of those, from whom he had suffered this iniquitous persecution. But the prelate, whose guest he was, still continued to treat him as archbishop of York, regarding no further the authority of the sovereign pontiff; than as it concurred with his own purposes. Under his roof William resided till the year eleven hundred and fifty-four, when fortune changed in his favor. For his three principal enemies, Eugenius, Bernard, and Henry Murdac having all died the

Gerv. ibid.
J. Prior Hagustald. sub
ann. 1148.
Neubrigens.
l. i. c. 17.

J. Hagustald.
sub ann. 1154.
Gervase, sub
ann. 1153.
1154.
Neubrigens.
l. i. c. 26.

the year before, and Pope Anastasius, who succeeded to Eugenius, being his friend, he obtained his pall. Yet his enjoyment of a dignity, purchased with so much trouble, was not of a long continuance: he died soon afterwards; and is said by some writers to have been murdered by poison in the sacramental wine: but William of Newbury, upon a careful enquiry into the fact, assures us that the report of it was founded on nothing but slight and uncertain suspicions.

While the archbishop of Canterbury remained in France with Eugenius the Third, they entered into great confidence and closeness of counsels, not only on ecclesiastical, but on civil affairs. They both hated Stephen, who, by supporting his brother in his application to Rome for a renewal of his legatine power in England, had grievously offended the primate; and, by patronizing William archbishop of York, had no less angered the pope. They agreed, therefore, to assist Prince Henry Plantagenet, when time should serve; and took measures together, which proved afterwards of great advantage to him, and were the secret springs of some very important transactions.

Yet it does not appear that the archbishop of Canterbury obtained at this time the legatine dignity. The bishop of Winchester, indeed, had been deprived of it by Celestine the Second, and could not get it renewed by Lucius, his successor, or by Eugenius: but

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V. Gerv.

Chron. Hun-
tind. et Ho-
veden. sub
ann. 1151.
et preceden-
tibus.Gerv. Chron.
fabian. 1157.
et Act. pontif.
Cantuar. in
vit. Theobald.

I do not find Theobald ever styled the pope's legate till the year eleven hundred and fifty-one. The council of Rheims being ended, he returned into England, confiding in the power of the pope to protect him against the resentment of his sovereign, whose command he had slighted, and the laws of the kingdom, which he so contumaciously had presumed to infringe. But, upon his arrival at Canter-
bury, Stephen immediately went thither from London, and sent him such angry mes-
sages, without deigning to see him, that, not thinking it safe to continue longer in England, he returned back to France. The queen and William of Ipres endeavoured to mediate a reconciliation; and, that he might be nearer to England, persuaded him to come to St. Omer's; where he remained for some time, expecting the event of their interces-
sions. Several bishops and abbots were sent to confer with him; but, as neither he, nor his sovereign, could be induced to submit, the one to the other, all expedients to make them friends were found ineffectual. At last, the obstinate prelate, exasperated at being detained so long from his see, sent over to England letters of interdict, wherein a day was fixed, before which if he had not per-
mission to return, they were to take place against all that part of the realm, which was in obedience to Stephen. These were the first of this nature to which England had been ever subjected; and they were, there-
fore,

fore, much more terrible to the minds of the English. The king had seized the archbishop's temporalities, upon his going out of the kingdom, and being in great want of money, oppressed his tenants, by exacting from them their rents before the usual time. When that prelate was informed of these proceedings, he took shipping at Gravelines, and landed in Suffolk, at a port belonging to Hugh Bigot; who, being in arms against Stephen, received him with great honors. At the term he had fixed he solemnly published the interdict; which deeply affected the people, who saw divine service performed in those countries that acknowledged Matilda; and not in those that obeyed the king. The consequences of this intimidated the latter, who should either have foreseen or despised them: but, as he usually acted, he began with spirit, and concluded with mean-ness. The bishops of London, Norwich, Winchester, and several temporal lords, were now employed by him to try to persuade the archbishop to take off the interdict; which they could not, by any arguments, prevail upon him to do, till he was brought back in triumph to his metropolitan see, by those nobles and prelates themselves. A fatal precedent, which gave a most grievous and incurable wound to the royal authority!

The spirits of the party against the king were much raised by the hopes, they now conceived, of once more gaining the church

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to their side. Many circumstances concurred to inspire those hopes. The archbishop of Canterbury, by the favor of Eugenius, was, become so superior to the bishop of Winchester, that the dominion, which hitherto had been assumed by the latter over the clergy of England, was in a great measure lost. That the pope and Stephen were on ill terms was publicly known; and, though the archbishop in appearance was reconciled to the king, their real enmity was no secret to men of any sagacity. There is great reason to believe, that, at this very time, the archbishop was combined with the earl of Norfolk and other nobles, in carrying on a negociation for inviting Henry Plantagenet to come again into England; which took effect in the year eleven hundred and forty-nine. Determined as the enemies of Stephen were now, after the usage he had given to the earl of Chester, not to submit to the tyranny of his government, they were no less resolved not to subject themselves and their country to the pride of Matilda: nor were they disposed to give the crown to the earl of Anjou, whom they always considered as a stranger to England, married to the daughter of their king without their consent. The only object of desire to them and the nation was Prince Henry, his eldest son, who, having done nothing to alienate their affections, was unquestionably entitled to their allegiance, by every reason of justice and policy,

as

Gerv. Chron.
subann. 1149.

as well as the oaths which they had formerly taken to maintain his succession. Indeed the pretensions of Matilda might have stood in bar to his claim, till after her death; and he might have been greatly embarrassed, either to set them aside, against her will, or to support them, against that of the nation: but, in the present state of things, she had the good sense to depart from them herself, being convinced that it would be impossible to overcome the dislike which she discerned in the English; and not desiring to prevent her son from being a king, that she might retain the name of queen. A fondness for him was become her ruling passion, and she sacrificed to it that pride, which never would bend to her interest.

He was now sixteen years old, and began to discover a manly vigour of body and mind; so that he seemed to be capable of heading his party; and they earnestly demanded his presence in England, thinking, and declaring, that, the earl of Gloucester being dead, he was the only leader, under whom they could act with any spirit or union. The king of Scotland, after having made his escape out of Winchester, had taken possession of the three counties adjacent to his kingdom, not in his own name, but as in custody for Matilda and Henry her son. The inhabitants of those counties were glad to be under his government; for he was so careful to protect them, that they suffered

J. P. Hagust.
sub ann. 1150.
Gerv. Chron.
sub ann. 1149.

V. Neubrig.
l. i. c. 22.

suffered much less from the incursions of the times than any other parts of England. Nor could Stephen drive him out of them, being too much employed in the more southern provinces, to carry his arms so far north. A kind of truce had thus continued for some time between them; David being satisfied with securing those countries. But he now was willing to take a more active part, if Henry Plantagenet would yield them to him and his heirs, free of homage to the crown of England. The proposal was not very dangerous: but as, by making an offensive war against Stephen, he might expose his own kingdom to some danger, policy seemed to require that he should exact a recompence for it; and though he was a prince of great generosity, he seldom allowed it to go beyond his discretion. Whether he explained himself on this article before Henry came to him, our ancient authors are silent. Certain it is, that he invited him over with a promise of aid; and a great plan of operations was formed, in concert perhaps with the pope, through the channel of the archbishop of Canterbury: upon which the earl of Anjou and Matilda were persuaded to send their son into England, with a good body of chosen forces, both horse and foot. He landed safely, we are not told in what harbour, but, as I conjecture, at Wareham; which was now in the possession of the young earl of Gloucester, who, not infected with

J. Hagustald.
fabann. 1150.
Gerv. Chron.
et Huntingd.
fabann. 1149.
viz. 14 Steph.

with the person of his brother, remained faithful to the cause that his father had maintained with such inflexible constancy. From thence Henry marched into some of the western counties, being joined by the earl of Chester, and Roger earl of Hereford, with several other barons of note in those parts, ~~and who~~ whose request he had come over, ~~and who~~ ~~offered~~ to be greatly animated by his arrival. But they did not think it advisable to make any attempts against Stephen in England, till they should act in conjunction with the Scotch: their principal consideration being in the aid that David had promised, without which, in their present circumstances, they had no hopes of success. To him therefore they went, and found him at the head of an army, in the town of Carlisle. Henry was received by him with a tender affection. The maturity of his understanding, and a magnanimity that appeared in all his deportment, drew the admiration of the Scotch, who were the more disposed to admire him, on account of ~~the~~ Scotch blood he had in his veins, derived ~~from~~ him from his grandmother, Matilda the Good. During the Whitsuntide festivals, kept by David at Carlisle with extraordinary pomp, that monarch conferred on Henry the honor of knighthood, which the mode of those times made necessary for princes, as soon as they were capable of bearing arms. But, before he did this, he required him to
take

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 V. Neubrig.
 l. i. c. 22.
 l. ii. c. 4.

take an oath, never to resume, from him, or his heirs, any part of the three counties, which he had obtained possession of, during the troubles in England.

If no intimations had been given to Henry of this demand before he came over, it was a surprise upon him, and, considering his youth and the place he was in, a very unfair one. No historian, who lived in that age, has said that it was authorised by Matilda. In whatever manner it was made, Henry did not think it prudent, while he was in Scotland, to dispute it with the king; but took the oath prescribed to him, and yielded those provinces, in hopes of recovering the rest of the kingdom by the assistance of the Scotch.

Another difficulty with regard to this matter was also adjusted. That no discontent might remain in the earl of Chester, on account of his claim to Carlisle, which he had not renounced when Stephen gave that city to David, it now was agreed, that the eldest son of the earl should marry the daughter of Henry prince of Scotland, and receive in exchange for his pretensions to Carlisle the honor of Lancaster, which they proposed to conquer for him. I presume that he was not to hold this acquisition as a fief under David, who had no title to it; but under Henry Plantagenet, as king of England.

land. This being settled, he departed, in order to raise greater forces, with which he engaged to join the Scotch. The place of rendezvous was appointed at Lancaster, and a day fixed for his coming. David accordingly marched thither with his army: but, the earl not keeping his word, he returned to Carlisle much dissatisfied. While he lay there, Stephen drew his troops together, and came to York; but kept himself entirely upon the defensive: and David acted with the same caution. We are not informed what it was that caused the earl of Chester to fail in his promise. Perhaps he could not raise his vassals so speedily, as he had imagined he should, when he left Carlisle; or rather the mere levity of his natural temper made him false to his word: for he was accustomed to change his conduct, not only with his interest, but with all the irregular follies of his passions. Possibly too the archbishop of Canterbury, who might think it would become him to be last in the field, was stopped by the backwardness he saw in the earl and some of his other confederates, upon whose alacrity he had counted. It might have been expected, that the earls of Norfolk, of Pembroke, and of Hertford, would join the king of Scotland and Henry Plantagenet, either with the earl of Chester, or without him: but they were, probably, restrained from it, by some negotiation opened with them by Stephen, or by the

VOL. II. N difficulty

difficulty they found of drawing their forces out of the several counties, in which their chief power lay: and their inaction might be an argument to withhold the archbishop, who, certainly, was not deficient in zeal for the cause, nor in courage.

The hopes of prince Henry were all blasted by this disappointment. He sought an occasion of exercising his new profession of arms, or (to speak in the language of that age) he desired *to gain his spurs*; but he could not possibly take the field, against a royal army, with his own troops alone; nor find any proper means of employing his valor, while the two kings, almost equally afraid of each other, contented themselves with only guarding their borders. Thus it happened that the whole summer, and part of the autumn, of the year eleven hundred and forty nine, passed without any considerable event, except that Eustace, who, that year, had been knighted by his father, and had the command of some forces, made incursions into the lands of those English barons who were with Henry at Carlisle, and did them much mischief. The reputation which that prince acquired by this action, the first exploit of his manhood, caused Henry to repine the more at his own hands being tied: and therefore, seeing no prospect of gaining any honor, or doing himself any service, by a longer abode in the court of David,

David, whom he found determined not to act offensively against Stephen, he returned into Normandy, at the beginning of the year eleven hundred and fifty. Yet, though he had not been able, during his stay in this island, to signalize himself by any illustrious actions, he left behind him such impressions of his merit and capacity, that his having come over was in reality of great advantage to him, and strongly disposed the minds of the English nobility to invite him again, at a more favorable season.

The earl of Anjou was now in quiet possession of Normandy, having deterred all his enemies from exciting any new disturbances there, by the firmness and vigour of his government. But the treasonable practices of a prince of the blood would have kindled a civil war in the whole kingdom of France, if it had not been prevented by the prudence and magnanimous spirit of Abbot Suger, who, when his master went to the Holy war, had been left regent of France, from the singular confidence, which, not only the king, but the nation, unanimously placed in his wisdom and integrity. Their opinion of him was justified by every act of his regency: but the most difficult part of it was at the latter end, when Robert earl of Dreux, who had returned into France before his brother, tried to raise a rebellion there against that monarch, and obtain the crown for himself;

A. D. 1150.
V. Sug. epist.
65. et vie de
Suger.

himself; or, at least, to usurp the whole power of the government. His hopes of success in this flagitious design were grounded on the ill humour, which the loss and dishonor that the nation had suffered, from the late unhappy crusade, had produced in many of the French, a people unapt, from the vivacity of their temper, to bear with moderation either good or bad fortune. He artfully fomented this discontent, and, by imputing the disasters, of which they complained, to the weakness and folly of Louis, drew upon him at once their contempt and indignation. The history of France afforded precedents of deposing kings for incapacity, and shutting them up in convents. Louis had no issue male: his brother Henry, who was next in the order of succession, had taken the frock of a monk in the abbey of Clairvaux: these circumstances were very favorable to the ambition of Robert, who resolved to make use of them, and push his fortune to the utmost. The ferment in the minds of the people was great: and many of the nobles were ready for a revolt; Robert having gained a strong party among those, with whom he had served in the East, by his manly and military character, which seemed to render him far more worthy to govern the French nation, than the bigoted Louis; and the general poverty brought upon them, by their expences and misadventures in their late ruinous enterprise, instigating them

them to seek a remedy for it, in the confusion and violence of civil war, or in such a change of the government, as might entitle them to advantages, they could not hope for in the present state of the kingdom. But the regent was warned of these dangerous machinations, by a letter from the earl of Flanders, who, at the same time that he cautioned him to be well upon his guard, offered to come and assist him, if there should be any occasion for it, with the whole force of his earldom. So frank an offer, made at such a critical time, by one of the bravest and most powerful princes of France, enabled the regent to maintain his master's authority, and extinguish this rebellion before it broke out into any open flame. What part was taken by the earl of Anjou we are not informed: but as he, and his brother-in-law, the earl of Flanders, generally acted in concert, and as he lived in the most cordial friendship with Suger, we may venture to conclude, that he gave no encouragement to the treason of Robert, or rather, that he joined with them to resist it. In the collection of Suger's letters there is one, from him to that minister, wherein he used these expressions: "I notify to you, as my dearest friend, that (if it be necessary) you may send for me upon the king's service, and I shall most certainly attend you, to serve him in all affairs, as you shall require, and even with more diligence than

V. Sug. epist.

65.

V. Sug. epist.

37.

“ if he were present.” This letter indeed was written before the return of the earl of Dreux into France : but I find no reason to doubt that Geoffry still continued in the same dispositions. Supposing only that he did not abett the designs of Robert, it was of great service to Louis : for if the power of the dutchy of Normandy, and of the earldoms of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, had, in this conjuncture, been employed to strengthen the faction against that monarch, the worst consequences might have been feared from such a confederacy. But it may naturally be presumed, from his connections at this time, and from the kindness which afterwards continued to subsist between Suger and him, that, on this occasion, he was more than unactively loyal. Yet no sooner was the king delivered from the danger of so formidable a revolt, than, as we learn from Suger's letters, he was ready to draw his sword against the earl of Anjou. The cause of their quarrel is not told, either in any of those letters, or by the contemporary historians. But it will not be difficult to guess the motives, from which Louis might be induced to such a war. For though, before he took the cross, his interests, or his passions, had caused him, in the manner before related, to give the investiture of the dutchy of Normandy to Geoffry Plantagenet, other sentiments might now prevail in his mind : especially as his hatred against the house

V. Sug. epist.
150. 153.

house of Blois was intirely overcome, by the artful address of the present head of that family, Henry earl of Champagne, who had gone with him to the East, and there had insinuated himself into his favor. This prince would naturally use all his credit with his sovereign to the advantage of Eustace, his cousin german, and Stephen, his uncle; which, together with the supplications and reproaches of Constantia, the sister of Louis, married to Eustace, might incline the king, who was very inconstant in his own policy, to undo his own work, and drive the earl of Anjou again out of Normandy, that he might restore it to his brother-in-law, according to the tenor of a prior engagement, contracted by his father, and ratified by himself. But the immediate occasion of their quarrel might arise from disputes concerning the extent of the king's jurisdiction over the vassals of Normandy, upon appeals made to his court from the court of their duke. The mind of Louis might thus be irritated against the earl of Anjou; and in that disposition it would easily receive all impressions, which the friends of Stephen and Eustace desired to make, against the right of that prince or of his consort, Matilda, to the duchy of Normandy. Certain it is that he had formed a design of attacking him in that country, and was preparing for it, with great ardor: but as soon as Suger, who then was absent from the French court, received

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V. Sug. epist.
150.

notice of this unexpected resolution, he wrote to the king, and earnestly entreated him, not to engage inconsiderately in a war against the earl of Anjou, whom he himself had made duke of Normandy, *without the advice of all his barons*: because such a war, if rashly undertaken, could neither be carried on without great difficulty, nor dropt with honor. He also sent a letter to the earl of Anjou and Matilda, expressing the greatest concern at the difference between his master and them. He told them, that he had been honored with marks of extraordinary favor and confidence by their father King Henry, and had done him great services in many important negociations and treaties. Particularly he affirmed, that, for twenty years together, no peace had been ever made between Louis le Gros and that monarchy, without his having had a principal share in settling the terms of it, as one who was equally trusted by both princes. He professed, that he still retained the same dispositions; and not meerly from love of peace, but out of gratitude for the favors which Henry had done him, he now exhorted the earl of Anjou and Matilda, to use, with all diligence, their utmost endeavours, by the mediation of their friends, to appease the anger of the king, and regain his affection, while it was yet in their power to regain it, and before he had concluded any league with their enemies. These letters had all the

V. Sug. epist.
153.



the effect he wished. Louis was stopped from pursuing his intention; and, when he had leisure to reflect more coolly upon it, he discovered what his passion before had concealed, the very bad policy of agitating his kingdom, which stood in such need of repose, with new intestine broils, and of making that potentate an implacable enemy, whom he had found a useful friend. He therefore left the earl of Anjou in peace, and broke off the treaty begun with Eustace. Whether that earl had gone so far, in deference to him, as to yield the point in dispute, we are not informed: but it may be presumed, that, agreeable to the council given by Suger, he made some concessions, in order to recover his favor. Nor did he think it adviseable to sit down content with having only dispelled the present storm; but, foreseeing a new change in the mind of the king, endeavoured to prevent the effects of his levity, by a negotiation, which was undoubtedly concerted between him and Suger. A proposal was made to that monarch in his name, with the concurrence of Matilda, that, if he would give the investiture of the duchy of Normandy to Henry their son, they would cede to him the Norman Vexin, a province lying betwixt the rivers Epte and Andelle, wherein was situated the castle of Gisors, which had been the principal cause of discord between Louis le Gros and King Henry. It seems surprising, that the earl, instead of retaining

Gest. Ludov.
vii. Reg. c. 28.
Hisor. ejusd.
ap Duchesne,
p. 414.
R. de Monte
Chron. Norm.
p. 984.

retaining the dutchy under his own administration, as he had hitherto done, should desire to give up a frontier of such importance, and which had cost so much blood, merely with the view of procuring for his son the investiture of the whole! No cause is assigned for it by any ancient historian: but several motives may be well supposed to have influenced his conduct in this affair. He probably might discern that his subjects of Normandy desired rather to be governed by his son, than by him; that prince being the nearest heir male in descent from William the Conqueror, and now of an age, which, with an understanding so mature and forward as his, they judged to be capable of sustaining the weight of the government. Another consideration, which might reasonably appear of great moment, was that the immediate possession of Normandy would be very useful to Henry, in assisting him to recover the kingdom of England; as the most powerful nobles, who had fiefs in both countries, were very desirous of holding them under one lord. And to secure his title to Normandy, by a new act of the French crown, arising from a treaty beneficial to that crown, was doubtless good policy: for the pretensions of Eustace might at any time become formidable, if Louis could be induced to countenance and support them. The earl of Anjou therefore acted a very prudent part in making this offer; and as
for

for Matilda, she gave up only the name of a power which she had never enjoyed, to procure a solid benefit for a son whom she loved. Possibly too she might hope to have a more real share in the government, when vested in her son, than she could, while it continued in the hands of her husband. The king of France, extremely pleased with gaining the Vexin, granted, without any difficulty, the investiture they desired. For that purpose he went himself into Normandy, about the autumn of the year eleven hundred and fifty; and, lest any faction there should be inclined to oppose his design, he led an army thither; with which having, as sovereign, taken possession of the dutchy, he delivered it all, except the Vexin, to Henry Plantagenet, after hearing his title to it made out in due form, and receiving his homage.

Thus was this prince, even during the life A. D. 1150. of his parents, raised to the exercise of dominion, and formed in the earliest bloom of youth, to the duties of the high rank he was born to; learning by practice, as well as precepts, the science of government, which, without practice, no instructions can sufficiently teach.

The earl of Anjou had certainly great reason to hope, that, after this settlement of the dutchy of Normandy, with so much satisfaction

faction to both parties, nothing could soon happen to disturb the good harmony between Louis and Henry: but the feudal government, in a country where the fiefs were so great, was a perpetual source of discord. One of his Angevin barons, named Gerard de Berlai, lord of Montreuil, had been in rebellion against him, trusting, as it seems, to the strength of his castle. It was indeed almost impossible to take it by storm; but Geoffry built three forts of stone, which entirely shutting up all the passages to it, for three years together, by this kind of blockade he obliged it to surrender, and took the lord of it prisoner, a little after the cession of Normandy to his son. This was accounted in those days, (as appears by the words of a contemporary historian) an extraordinary and glorious exploit, *the like of which* (says that author) *had not been heard of, since the time of Julius Cæsar.* He meant, I presume, the long continuance of the siege; it being then very unusual for any to be protracted above three or four months. But Gerard had found means to engage the king of France in the support of his quarrel, perhaps by alledging that he was not a vassal of Anjou, but of Poitou; Montreuil being then a district of the latter, if the author of the Norman Chronicle be not mistaken. It now belongs to Anjou; from whence it is probable, that the right to it was doubtful, and a matter of contention between the earl of Anjou and dukes

Chron. Norm.
Tabann, 1150.

V. Chron.
Norm. ut sup.

dukes of Guienne; which might induce Louis to consider Gerard de Berlai as *his* vassal, and the castle as belonging to *him* by his marriage. Certain it is, that he took upon himself the protection of both, and was much incensed at the earl of Anjou for detaining that lord in captivity, as well as for having presumed to demolish the castle. But Geoffry, who thought that he had done nothing illegal, would not submit in this point to the royal authority; and the dispute upon it grew so hot, that Louis determined to chastise his *rebellion* (for such he called his *resistance*) by force of arms. Normandy had no concern in the quarrel; yet he chose to begin the war by attacking that duchy, either taking it for granted that Henry would act in defence of his father, or believing that Geoffry would be more intimidated, if the storm fell on his son, than if it were directed against himself. To give the greater alarm, he sent for Eustace, King Stephen's son, who readily came at his call; and they marched together into Normandy, the frontier of which was open on the side of the Vexin. About the middle of summer, in the year eleven hundred and fifty-one, they laid close siege to the strong castle of Arques. Henry came against them at the head of an army composed of Angevins, Normans, and Bretons; the last of whom served him as vassals of Normandy, of which Bretagne was held in fief. His force was superior to
that

that of his enemy, and the ardor of youth made him wish for an engagement, in which he hoped that he might vanquish a king of France: but, eager as he was to acquire that glory, he suffered himself to be restrained by the counsels of some of his oldest and wisest friends, who advised him to avoid, if possible, a battle with his sovereign. Their caution was reasonable; and it did Henry more honor, that he could, at his age, be prudent enough to regard it, than if, against their advice, he had fought and conquered.

Louis, finding the duke stronger than he had expected, returned to Paris, in order to raise more forces, without which he was sensible he could not succeed; as none of the Normans had revolted in favor of Eustace. He was now reconciled to his brother, the earl of Dreux, and not only forgave him his treasonable attempts, but trusted and employed him; his temper knowing no medium between hatred and confidence. When the new levies were made, he and that prince went together, at the head of those bands, and fired the town of Seez, which belonged to William de Talévez, one of the greatest Norman barons: after which, the king, being indisposed, returned to Paris, but ordered his army to post itself on the bank of the Seine, along the Norman frontier; intending to lead it into Normandy, as soon as his health would permit. At the same time, the earl of Anjou and Henry, uniting their forces,

ces, lay on the borders of Normandy, over against the king's troops, and shewed, that, although they were desirous of peace, they were not afraid of war. If Louis had been able to act, the affair might have become very serious: but his distemper encreasing to a violent fever, he willingly agreed to a suspension of arms, during which growing better he listened to proposals for an accommodation, that were made to him by several ecclesiasticks, whom the earl of Anjou employed, as the best negotiators with a prince of his character. Probably Suger was one who laboured the most in this treaty: for, besides the regard he professed for the house of Anjou the interest of his master, and of the kingdom, which stood in need of a long peace to recover its strength, must have inclined him to promote it with all his power. It was indeed unpardonable in Louis, so quickly after he had granted the investiture of Normandy to Henry Plantagenet, not only to attack him, on account of a difference with his father, but to bring over Eustace, with an apparent intention, against the faith of the most solemn treaty, and while he actually enjoyed the benefits of it, to restore the duchy to that prince. Suger must have seen this levity with concern: but all the influence he had acquired over his mind, could not hinder the first heat of his impetuous temper from hurrying him into rash and inconsistent acts. The utmost he could do was to seize

every

Chron. Norm.
ut suprà.

every moment of cooler thought, and bring him back to reason, by gentle reproofs; or by artful insinuations. Thus he seems to have proceeded with him upon this occasion; and having been assisted by the prudent conduct of the earl of Anjou and of Henry, he re-established that tranquillity he so much desired. The terms of peace were only these; that the earl should give up his prisoner, Gerard de Berlai, to the king; and that Henry should renew his homage for Normandy. The unhappy Eustace was thus sent back to England, with the grievous mortification of seeing the dutchy, which he came over to regain, confirmed to his enemy. A miserable condition it is for a prince, who has high thoughts and pretensions, to depend, for the support of them, upon the aid of another! He will be set up and cast down, at every turn, just as the interest or caprice of the potentate upon whom he relies, or the inclinations of favorites, may happen to change. From the character given of Eustace, by the writers of those times, we may be certain that he felt very sharply the uneasiness and humiliation of such a dependence: but he was forced to submit; and (what was still more painful to him) he durst not complain: for he was afraid, by shewing his resentment, to lose the affection of Louis, which might be useful to him upon other occasions, and trusted to the unsteadiness of that king in his politicks, that the house of Plantagenet

Plantagenet and he would not long continue friends.

Book I.

Henry, being now in quiet possession of Normandy, turned his thoughts towards England, and convened a great council of the Norman nobility, in order to consult with them in what manner he should pursue his claim to that kingdom. But, while he was eagerly intent on the result of this deliberation, his father, the earl of Anjou, died of a fever, on the tenth of September, in the year eleven hundred and fifty one, being the forty first of his age. Chron. Norm. ut supra.

From all we know of this prince, he appears to have been a man of a very sound understanding; active and brave; but cautious, and less a warrior than a statesman. Though he paid little regard to the notions of piety inculcated by the clergy, where he found them opposite (as they often were) to his temporal rights, yet he had a sober and rational sense of religion. His moral character was good, but not shining, rather exempt from great vices than adorned with great virtues. But there was in his temper a happy moderation, which when fortune was adverse to him, enabled him to wait, with patience and firmness, for better opportunities; and, when favorable, preserved him from insolence and presumption. Ibid ibidem, et vit. Geoff. Duc. Norm.

He left three sons by Matilda. To Henry, the eldest, he bequeathed his three earldoms, Chron. Norm. ut supra.

VOL. II.

O

Anjou,

HISTORY OF THE LIFE,

Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, except the castles of Chinon and Loudon in Touraine, and that of Mirebeau in Anjou, which, with all their dependences, he gave to Geoffry, his second son. Some authors have said, that the earldom of Mortagne was given by him to William, his youngest son. But, as Mortagne was a province of Normandy, which before his death he had resigned entirely to Prince Henry, he could not by his will dispose of it to another: and therefore this bequest (if indeed there was any such) must be considered as a *recommenda*tion of his third son to that earldom, *if Henry should be willing to bestow it upon him*. It is evident by an act of that prince not long afterwards, that he thought himself at liberty to dispose of it otherwise, as his own interest then required. Nor do we find any legacy of money bequeathed to William by his father: but his whole fortune was left dependent on Henry's affection. Better care was taken of Geoffry: for, besides the present gift of the above-mentioned castles, his father directed by a clause in his will, that if ever Henry should be fully possessed of his mother's inheritance, that is, of England and Normandy, he then should give up all his paternal dominions, namely the earldoms of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, to his second brother. And to prevent this reversion from being disputed by Henry, as he apprehended it would, he obliged all the bishops and barons, who were with

Gul. Neubrig.
l. ii. c. 7.

with him, to take an oath, that they would not suffer his body to be buried, till Henry had sworn to perform indiscriminately every part of his will. When that prince came to attend the obsequies of his father, he was immediately informed of the oath these lords had taken, and exhorted to take that required of him, before he was acquainted with the contents of the will. He resisted some time; but being urged with the indecency of letting his father's corpse remain unburied, he yielded at last, though with great marks of discontent. After the funeral, the will being opened, he saw why the testator had thought it necessary to take so extraordinary a method of forcing him to fulfil it.

It seems that Matilda, after the loss of her husband, resided constantly at Rouen; and, probably, she was lodged in the ducal palace with her son, who repaid her affection for him with the most pious respect and filial tenderness. The design he had formed of prosecuting his right to the crown of England was stopped by his father's death, and by the necessity of taking possession of his three earldoms, and paying the homage due to Louis, his sovereign. But this delay, as well as all other accidents, turned to his benefit; fortune and prudence co-operating equally to aid his ambition. For, besides the great increase of territory and power, which he derived from the inheritance of his paternal

dominions, a much greater accrued to him by his staying in France at this time, which perhaps he might have lost, if he had then been engaged in the troubles of England.

Gerv. Chron.
et Annales de
Waverley, sub
ann. 1152.
Concil. Bul-
gent.
Gest. Ludov.
vii. Reg.
c. 29.
Neubrigenfis,
l. i. c. 31.

The suspicions, which Louis had conceived of his queen, had been so far got over, or, at least, quieted in his mind, that he, probably, would have continued to live with her as well as he had done for some years, if she had sought to recover his affection. But she did the very reverse, from several motives. Her character and his were so discordant, that it had turned the regard, which she appeared to have for him when they were first married, into a settled aversion. His superstitious devotion and unkingly humility raised her contempt: and she often complained of her having married a monk, not a king. Besides this unhappy disagreement in their tempers, she was of a spirit too high and fierce, not to remember, with implacable anger, his hurrying her away in such a manner from Antioch; which had brought a foul stain on her honor: and supposing his suspicions to have been groundless, one cannot much condemn her for such a resentment. Instead therefore of soothing his mind to a forgetfulness of their past quarrel, she constantly irritated and inflamed his displeasure, hoping and endeavouring to bring him to part from her by a divorce; for which a decent pretence was easily found in the usual plea of a relation within

within the degrees forbidden by the canons. Louis and she were fourth cousins; and had they been cousins only in the seventh degree, it would have rendered their marriage null, by the canons of the church, without a dispensation from the pope, which they had not obtained before their union: a neglect hard to be accounted for, in a match of such importance to the kingdom of France! She therefore pretended a scruple about this consanguinity; and partly by alarming the timorous conscience of her weak-minded husband, partly by provoking his anger against her, at length induced him to come into her measures for dissolving their marriage. We are told by an historian, who lived in those times, that it was said, her inclination for the young duke of Normandy was the chief reason, which prevailed with her to desire and procure this divorce. Nor is it improbable: for Henry was handsome, and full of the agreeable fire of youth, with a certain military air and demeanor, which, to a lady of her gay disposition, was a most powerful charm. He had been twice at the court of France since he returned out of Scotland; once, when he did homage for the duchy of Normandy, and again, when he came thither to perform the same ceremony for the earldoms his father had left him. At both these times he saw the queen, and might have many opportunities to converse with her freely. Her heart, which was ab-

Neubrigenfis;
ut supra.
Vid. auctores
cit. ut supra.

solutely

solutely estranged from her husband, might too easily admit a passion for him; and that passion might influence her to press the more vehemently her separation from Louis. Whether Henry was in love with her, is uncertain. Their ages were unequal; for she was thirty years old and he under twenty: but, with a good share of beauty, and more of vivacity, she had still youth enough to gain the heart of a young man, though not to keep it long. One passion at least, which was very strong in Henry, she perfectly gratified, and better than any other lady could do; I mean his ambition. Nor could she make a fitter choice, if she desired, as she undoubtedly did, to vex and mortify the husband she quitted: for by giving herself, and the dominions of Aquitaine to a prince already possessed of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, she made him a vassal much too great for his sovereign; besides the hope she entertained of his making himself king of England, after such an augmentation of power and strength, as he would gain by this match. It is therefore most probable, that she acted in consequence of a plan, concerted between them, at their last meeting. Louis was the dupe of of this intrigue, and did not consider so deeply as he ought to have done, how much he must lose, as king of France, by annulling a marriage, which had annexed the two duchies of Guienne and Gascony, with the great earldom of Poictou and all their dependant provinces,

vinces, again to his crown. Suger was dead; and he had no other friend, either so honest, or so wise, as to shew him all the folly of what he was doing. He therefore followed the method that Eleanor had suggested, and, having assembled a council at Baugency, declared to them, that he found himself troubled in conscience, about the consanguinity between him and the queen; which being attested by the oaths of some of her own relations there present, the council unanimously dissolved the marriage, as incestuous and void, after they had cohabited almost sixteen years, and though she had brought him two daughters, who were both living. The sentence was likewise confirmed by the papal authority. Thus, without the least mention of the queen's infidelity, which indeed could not be proved, Louis and she were divorced, to the entire satisfaction of both, but infinitely to the detriment of him and his kingdom: for no reason or colourable pretence could be found, after the marriage was declared to be null, for his retaining the territories belonging to her as heiress to her father. He therefore resigned them to her, however unwillingly, and against his own interests. Some modern historians, who blame his ill policy in that restitution, seem not to have considered the equity of the case. He may indeed be justly censured, as king of France, for great imprudence, in the divorce, but the restoring to the dutchess of Aquitaine the inheritance

heritance she had brought him in right of their marriage, was an unavoidable consequence of dissolving that marriage. Neither would her friends, nor would she herself, have ever agreed to it without this condition; and if any opposition had been made to it by them, it could not have been effected; for, even with the unanimous consent of all parties, it was a scandalous act.

See Mezerai.
& vic de Sug,

The daughters, thus illegitimated, remained with their father; but Eleanor went immediately into Guienne. If we may believe some modern writers, Louis flattered himself, that she would always remain unmarried, from her bad reputation; saying "her behaviour had made her so infamous, that the poorest gentleman in his kingdom would not desire to have her for his wife." But, admitting that such an expression did really drop from him (of which I very much doubt) he was extremely mistaken in his judgement. More than one prince of the highest rank in France desired her hand, as soon as ever he had set it at liberty; either not believing the reports against her honor, or only regarding the dower that she would bring to her husband. One of these suitors was the second son of Thibaud earl of Champagne, King Stephen's brother, who, after a long sickness, was lately deceased, and had left his territories divided between three of his sons; the fourth being in orders. The share of the second was the earldoms of Blois and

Chron. Norm.

and of Chartres, with the district of Chateaudun; to which he willingly would have added the dutchy of Aquitaine, and therefore made proposals of marriage to Eleanor, as she passed through Blois to Guienne; which she having rejected, he formed a design to seize her person, and force her to marry him: but, being happily warned of it, she escaped to Tours. Nor was she yet in safety. For Geoffry Plantagenet, either not knowing, or not respecting, the pretensions of his brother, was no less desirous than the earl of Blois to intercept so rich a prize. He could not propose himself as an equal match, having only three castles to offer in return for all her ample dominions; but he thought that he might possibly obtain her by force, and resolved to carry her off, by laying an ambush for her at Port de Piles, on a supposition that in her journey between Tours and Guienne she would pass through that place. So much did the actions of princes in that age resemble those we read of in the old romances! But her danger at Blois had rendered her very cautious; and her intelligence was so good, that she got notice also of this design against her, before it was executed: upon which, changing her road, and avoiding Port de Piles, she arrived safe in Guienne; from whence she sent messengers to Henry Plantagenet, offering him her hand, or rather confirming the offer, which she had, probably, made of it before her divorce; and

Gerv. Chron.
sub. ann. 1152.
Neubrig. l. i.
c. 31.

A. D. 1152. and acquainting him with the dangers she had run in her journey. Upon the receipt of her letters, he set out immediately with few attendants, repaired to her at Poitiers, as soon and as secretly as he could; and, by a speedy marriage, secured her to himself, before the king, her late husband, had even a suspicion of such an intention. The nuptials were celebrated on Whitsunday, in the year eleven hundred and fifty two, within less than six weeks after her separation from Louis. When that monarch was informed of her having so suddenly disposed of herself, and to one whose greatness in the realm of France had before given him jealousy, he expressed much displeasure, and was exceedingly alarmed at the consequences of it, which he saw it was no longer in his power to prevent. The subjects of Eleanor were all satisfied with the choice she had made, and no symptom appeared in them of any unwillingness to submit to their new master. A young prince of a common spirit would have now reposed for some time, to enjoy the pleasures of love, and the pride of dominion, in ease and tranquility. But, to a great mind, every new acquisition of power is only a step to some higher view of ambition. It was in this light that Henry saw the possession he had gained of the dutchy of Aquitaine. He considered it as the means of recovering England; and, instead of laying his ambition asleep in the arms of his agreeable

agreeable bride, he determined not to let the summer pass over, without vigorously prosecuting his claim to that kingdom.

The civil war, by the superiority which Stephen had gained, had a little abated its fury; but the worst evils, occasioned by it, continued still unrestrained. Obedience and discipline were lost in both parties. After Henry's retreat from Scotland his friends had no leader, who had authority enough to controul them: nor was Stephen better able to govern his faction. The English nation had many tyrants, but no king. Liberty was destroyed, and licentiousness reigned in its stead. The nobles, who had fought under the banner of Stephen, became more insolent from his success, but shewed an unwillingness to render that success compleat and decisive; lest, by putting an end to the troubles, they should put an end to their own power in their several countries, or be accountable for the abuse they had made of it in those times of publick confusion. His mercenaries also protracted the war from the same motive, and supported themselves by rapine; for he could not maintain them; having not only wasted the great treasure laid up by his frugal predecessor, and all that he had been able to extort from his subjects, but alienated most of the demesnes of the crown. Among other bad expedients to answer his wants, he had miserably debased the

Vid. Gul.
Neub. l. i.
c. 22.

the coin of the kingdom : yet neither that, nor an universal venality of offices, benefices, dignities, honors, could supply the expence of so many foreign troops, as he still thought it necessary to keep in his service. They were unpaid, and consequently ungovernable; refusing all discipline, and tearing from the people, by all the violence of military force, the money which they could not get from the king. Nor did the clergy expect from him a less unbounded complaisance than the army. It was *by them* that he reigned, and *for them alone* would they allow him to reign. Some further encroachment on the civil authority was daily made; some new immunity, privilege, or jurisdiction claimed, in behalf of the church. Not only the prelates and great nobles insulted the crown, and invaded it's prerogatives, in this time of its weakness; but every lord of a castle arrogated to himself a royal power in his own district, exercising all judicature, both civil and criminal, and even coining money, in his own name. These petty sovereigns were continually at variance one with another; and as much blood was shed in their particular quarrels, as in the great contest between the houses of Anjou and Blois. They even hired foreign mercenaries, after the example of Stephen, to wage their wars for them; and when money was wanting, instead of pay, or subsistence they gave them the pillage of lands and houses. The best men of both parties were
most

Neubrig. ut
supra. See
also Gest.
Steph. regis
et Brompton.

most exposed to these depredations; nothing in such times being more unsafe than moderation and love of peace. As there was no power remaining in the laws, or the magistrate, for the redressing of wrongs; every man, who was, or supposed himself to be injured, sought redress from his own hands, or those of his friends: and thus no crimes were punished, unless by other crimes of a more dangerous nature, such as perpetuated disorder and discord, and tended to the entire dissolution of government. Out of this wretched state there was no hope of drawing the nation, but by Henry's recovering the throne of his ancestors.

The earl of Cornwall, his uncle, a little Chron. Norm. p. 985. before his marriage with Eleanor, had gone over to him in Normandy, deputed by all his English friends (among whom were some, whose correspondence with him was not suspected by Stephen) to importune him to come and put himself at their head: whereupon he had summoned the great council of Normandy to meet him at Lisieux, as they had done the year before, about the same business. But he was drawn from thence, in the midst of their consultations upon it, by the agreeable invitation he received from Poitou, and detained some time in those parts, by the solemnization of his marriage, and by the homage he was to receive in consequence of it, from his new subjects there. As soon as he possibly could, he returned into Normandy,

Normandy, no less eager to engage in his enterprize upon England, than he had been to obtain the possession of Eleanor and the dutchy of Aquitaine. His ardor was well seconded by the zeal of his vassals: a great force was raised in all his territories on the continent; and he was preparing to embark with it, at Barfleur, about the middle of July; that is, in less than two months after the day of his marriage; when he was stopt by a formidable war, which, like a sudden hurricane, burst upon him at once, in Normandy and in Anjou, and threatened all his other dominions in France. There was confederated against him Louis, his sovereign; the earl of Dreux, that king's brother; Eustace, Stephen's son; the young earl of Blois; and his own brother, Geoffry Plantagenet. These princes had secretly made a treaty of partition, by which they agreed to divide all his territories on the continent among themselves. The resentment of Louis upon account of his marriage, and a desire to recover by force the dutchy of Aquitaine, induced him to engage in this iniquitous league. The earl of Dreux, having married the widow of Rotrou, late earl of Perche, and enjoying that earldom, as administrator or guardian, during the infancy of her son, had some disputes with Henry, as duke of Normandy, about certain castles; from which cause, but still more from a view of advancing his fortune, which did not answer the height either

V. Chron.
Norm. sub.
ann. 1143, &
1151.

of his birth or his mind, he also sought to share in the spoils of that prince. Eustace most gladly embraced the opportunity of trying to recover the dutchy of Normandy, thinking that Louis would support him with more constancy now, than he had done heretofore; as his animosity against Henry was greater. The earl of Blois might be incited by several motives to join in this alliance; by his near relation and friendship to Eustace; by a hope of obtaining the favor of his sovereign, in assisting his revenge; by some anger against Eleanor for having refused him, and against Henry for being preferred to him; or by the desire of enlarging his territories with part of Anjou. The most extraordinary circumstance attending it was, that Henry's own brother should be combined in a league which proposed his destruction. He could assign no pretence for it, except that, according to the will of his father, he was to be put in possession of all the Angevin territories, as soon as Henry should be possessed of his mother's inheritance. But this included England, as well as Normandy, and therefore his claim was premature: nor was there a shadow of justice to excuse him, for such an unnatural and impious attack upon a good and kind brother. Perhaps he dreaded the resentment of Henry for his intended rape of Eleanor at Port de Piles, and sought to secure himself by a greater offence, as guilty men are often impelled to do. But it is more probable that ambition

Chron. Norm.
p. 986, 987.
Gerv. Chron.
sub ann. 1152.
Hunt. f. 2. 6.
c. 20.

alone was his motive; the small portion he then enjoyed not being sufficient to satisfy a mind which aspired to greatness. Whatever temptation he may have had to this act, it was in itself most atrociously criminal, and such as even those, with whose designs he concurred, must, in their hearts, have detested. Nevertheless he allured to his party some of the Angevin barons, and by their assistance gained possession of two or three castles in Anjou; while his confederates marched into Normandy, and there besieged Neufmarché, a strong frontier town between Gournai and Gisors. When the news of this invasion was brought to the duke, he quitted immediately his design upon England, and marched with his army, who were the flower of Normandy, Anjou, and Guienne, to give battle to Louis; in order to oblige him to raise the siege; but, before he could arrive, the town was surrendered, by the treachery of the garrison. The whole duchy of Normandy seemed to be now in great danger; and all men expected that Henry would have sunk under so powerful a confederacy; as he had not one ally to assist him against them. Yet, notwithstanding the number and strength of his enemies, the suddenness of the attack, and the loss of a place which had been a bulwark to his frontier, he stopped their arms; and so protected his country, by an able disposition of the troops he had with him, and by the strong reinforcements which came

came to him from all his other dominions, that the confederates every where retired before him, and constrained to quit the dutchy, after having seen him not only defeat their attempts, but ravage the adjacent demesnes of Louis, and burn some of his castles, without their daring to give him battle. Upon their retreat out of Normandy, he left such a force, as he thought would be sufficient to defend it against them, if they should return; and carried his arms into Anjou, to oppose the revolt which Geoffry Plantagenet had excited in those parts. This he performed with such vigour and success, that, having taken the strongest castle belonging to that prince, he soon compelled him to sue, in the most submissive manner for a reconciliation. Nor would he grant him any other terms than barely a pardon. For, however expedient it might be, in the present conjuncture, to pacify Anjou, he did not think it adviseable to encourage his brother to make another war upon him in times to come, by allowing him to draw any advantage from this. The insurrection in that province being entirely suppressed, within less than six weeks after its first breaking out, peace was happily settled there; and Henry returned into Normandy, which the confederates had attacked in his absence, but without being able to do any thing of importance. They perhaps had expected that the Norman nobility would not

Vid. auctores
citat. ut supra

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have adhered so generally and constantly to him as they did upon this occasion, and were discouraged in their enterprize by that disappointment. It is certain, they acted with very little spirit; and Louis falling ill of a fever, to which distemper he had lately been subject, his army mouldered away by frequent desertions; so that, when he recovered, he was forced to retire to Paris, where he opened a negotiation for peace with Henry: it being his temper to grow soon very weary of a war, in which he met with any difficulties, or ill success, the *holy war* only excepted. That prince received these overtures with great satisfaction, wishing to see all disturbances in France composed, that he might be able to pursue his design upon England. A cessation of arms was therefore agreed on between them, the earl of Blois being also comprehended therein: and the unfortunate Eustace returned to England, without any other benefit from this expedition, than the possession of the town of Neufmarché, which Louis delivered to him. Henry, who had been threatened with the loss of all his territories, was secure and triumphant. His very enemies loudly extolled the intrepidity and good conduct shewn by him, in thus maintaining himself against the efforts of so formidable an alliance; which, being the first great occasion of exerting his talents, was decisive to his character, and gave him a reputation, that helped him to gain the English

Vid. auctores
citat. ut supra.

English throne, more than all the intrigues of his party in that kingdom. But, as he had not yet concluded a peace with Louis, he laid aside all thoughts of going over to England, till the next year. In the mean time, he endeavoured to sooth that monarch, by proper marks of respect, and protestations of affection to his person and service; desiring no triumph over him, but only peace with his favor; and representing to him, that he had really no just cause to complain of his marrying Eleanor, who, being divorced, was free to dispose of herself in another marriage; as she had not given her hand to an enemy of the king, nor even to a foreigner, but to his friend and his vassal. There was great prudence in this language, and it made an impression upon the mind of Louis, which from this time began to mitigate its rancour towards him. What conditions of peace that monarch had proposed we are not told. He probably wanted to have some parts of Aquitaine yielded to his daughters, that they might not be deprived of all the inheritance, which he had hoped they would receive from the dutchess, their mother. But Henry determined to keep the whole for himself and his children, according to the articles of his marriage-contract with Eleanor, and gave only fair words to appease the king of France. This for some time delayed the conclusion of the peace, though the truce was still continued; and, during the negotiations, Henry

Book I.

Gervase. ut
supra.

recompensed the fidelity, which most of his barons had lately displayed in his service, with great generosity; knowing how advantageous it is for a prince to be accounted a liberal rewarder of merit. He was particularly bountiful towards his new subjects of Poictou, and Guienne, who had stood very firm to him in this time of trial.

While he was thus prudently fortifying himself against future attacks, by the most certain defence, the hearts of his people, Stephen was endeavouring to find other methods of securing to Eustace, his eldest son, the succession to his kingdom. In order thereto, upon the return of that prince out of Normandy, he tried to cause him to be crowned king of England together with himself. By this means he hoped to bar the pretensions of Henry, not only in his own lifetime, but after his death. The thing was new in this country; and, even if the nation had been united, it would have required great power, and very skilful management, to obtain their consent to it. But the circumstances of the time were so unfavorable to Stephen, and his authority was yet so unsettled, that he had not the least encouragement to make the attempt. Nevertheless he undertook it, as he did all his enterprises, with more ardor than judgment; and calling together as many of the barons as paid him obedience, proposed it to them, and to the spiritual lords; never reflecting, that, although

Gervase ut
supra.
Huntingdon,
subann. 1152.
i. e. 17 Steph.
reg.

though they agreed unanimously to it, the act of a party could not have been considered as the act of the nation, and therefore would not afterwards have prevented a dispute about the succession. But he could not induce even this shadow of a parliament to comply with his desire. The bishops, with one voice, refused their consent, the pope having sent letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, absolutely forbidding him to raise to the throne the son of a king, *who against his oath had usurped the kingdom*. Thus was Stephen declared by Rome a perjured usurper, notwithstanding the former bull confirming his title by the authority of that see, the decisions of which most shamefully varied, according to the interests or passions of the pontiffs. This was the effect of the intrigues carried on between Pope Eugenius and the archbishop of Canterbury, the origin of which has before been mentioned.

Stephen now saw what he had not yet apprehended, how totally he had lost the affections of the clergy, and how far their intelligence with Henry had gone. It is very surprising, that even his own brother, the bishop of Winchester, would not support him in this business. I presume he was influenced, not only by the fear of offending the pope, but by some secret regards he had for Henry. The rage of the king and of his son rose even to frenzy, when they found their design thus defeated by the bishops, and for a reason

more offensive than the disappointment itself. To conquer their obstinacy, Stephen gave orders, that they should not be suffered to leave the house they were in, till they yielded to his demand. A consent so extorted by terror and violence would have been annulled by the pope, and could have been of no advantage to Eustace, had it been gained. But most of the prelates were firm in refusing to give it, even at the peril of their lives, and above all the archbishop of Canterbury. After some time, by a neglect in guarding the house, which probably was owing to corruption, or to private orders from the king, the primate got out, and made his escape into France. His brethren were then set at liberty; but their temporalities were all seized to the use of the king; which, however, he soon restored, retaining only those of the fugitive archbishop. And he was compelled, not long afterwards, to recal that prelate to his see, by a sentence of excommunication and interdict, which, if this was not done within a limited time, Eugenius had enjoined the bishops of England to pass on their sovereign, and on all parts of the kingdom which acknowledged his authority, without appeal.

Thus ended this business, to the no small dishonor both of Stephen and Eustace: but youth and inexperience made it much more excusable in the son than in the father. The only benefit which Eustace obtained by it was

was, that the earls and temporal barons, who attended this convention, did homage and swore fealty to him, as heir to the crown: but, the bishops not concurring with them, it was hardly worth his while to receive such an imperfect acknowledgement of a title, which future events alone could enable him to make good.

The very offensive behaviour of the see of Rome and the English prelates, in this affair, made Stephen feel with greater pain, how much danger might arise to the general weal of his kingdom, from the encreasing influence of the papacy over the minds of his clergy. His attention was more especially led to one point, the consequences of which his wisest counsellors very justly apprehended. The law of England being a barrier against the whole system of papal power, the prelates, who were become subservient to that power, and continually appealed to it in the affairs of the church, had recourse to the canon and civil laws, the authority of which they endeavoured to exalt above that of the former. A professor of them, named Vacarius, was called over from Italy, in the year eleven hundred and forty eight, by the archbishop of Canterbury, and under his patronage they were taught in the archiepiscopal palace and the university of Oxford. Some of the books brought, and commented upon, by Vacarius, contained notions and maxims very repugnant to those, on which the whole policy of

V. Johan. Salsb. Policraticon, five de Nugis Curial. l. viii. c. 12. Gerv. Auctus Pont. Cant. de Theobald. Chron. Norm. p. 983. D. Arth. Duck de usu et auctoritate Jur. Civ. l. i. c. 7. art. 10, 11, 13.

the English government was erected. Stephen from the necessity he thought himself under of courting the favor of Rome, had connived at this evil; but finding Eugenius implacable to him, and openly at war with him and his son, he now changed his conduct, and had the resolution to publish an edict, which silenced the professor, and forbade the books. Yet little regard was paid to this prohibition. The clergy still persisted to addict themselves more and more to the study of these laws; and their implicit submission to the decisions and decrees contained in the books of canon law, particularly, in the collection called the *Decretum*, which had been published by Gratian in the year eleven hundred and fifty one, continued in this and many following reigns, even till the reformation of religion was compleated, to raise and support in them a spirit of independence pernicious to society, and principles incompatible with the obedience they owed to the laws of their country.

Stephen, having thus acted above his own character, and according to the maxims of the truest policy, while, perhaps, he only meant to shew his resentment of the hostile conduct of Rome, betook himself again to his military operations, upon which he now perceived that he must solely depend for the future support of his government. Those of the two preceding years had not been very considerable, nor such as one might have

V. John. Salsb. ut supra. et in epist. et Selden's Review of his book on Tythes.

have expected, when he was so superior in strength to his enemies; the cause of which has been before told. During that time his chief exploit was the taking and burning of Worcester, which city the earl of Meulant, to whom he had formerly given it, now held against him. This nobleman had forsaken him, and aided Geoffry Plantagenet to finish his conquest of the dutchy of Normandy, in the year eleven hundred and forty three, as I have related in writing the transactions of that year: soon after which he went to the Holy war, and was now returned into England. Stephen, more incensed against him than against any of the old friends of Matilda, assaulted the city of Worcester, into which he had thrown himself, and having taken it by storm, gave it up, to be pillaged by his soldiers, who set it on fire: but he could not take the castle, which the earl maintained very bravely. The next year he again besieged it with still greater forces, and was repulsed a second time: after which he had recourse to a less dangerous method of gaining his purpose, viz. the building two forts, to block it up; and leaving a part of his army, under the command of some nobles, in garrison there, went back to London. This blockade would, in the end, have constrained the earl of Meulant to surrender his castle, for want of necessary provisions, if he had not been speedily relieved, by the help of the earl of Leicester, his mother's

V. H. Hun-
tindon, sub-
ann. Steph.
Reg. 15 et 16.

ther's son; who, either by pretending an order from Stephen, whose party he never had left, or by some other artifice, not explained in the history of those times, caused the two forts to be raised. And yet this lord was esteemed a man of virtue! Perhaps, finding himself suspected, on his brother's account, and remembering the fate of Geoffrey de Magnavilla and other noblemen in Stephen's party, who had been sacrificed to suspicion, he thought it necessary to consult his own safety, by keeping up the power of his family, and not suffering any part of it to be oppressed. Indeed the general conduct of the king had been such, as loosened all the bonds of truth and fidelity: and there was a contagion in the spirit of the times, which made men not ashamed of violating their faith, and gave to fraud and treason the reputation of prudence.

Stephen would naturally have called the earl of Leicester to an account for this action; but he had other more important affairs on his hands, particularly his design of crowning Eustace. When that had failed, he returned to the prosecution of the war, and, after a siege of some weeks, made himself master of the town and castle of Newbury. This being accomplished, he turned his arms against Wallingford castle, the chief place, next to Bristol, that now remained in the hands of his enemies. It could not be taken, but by famine; and therefore he had

V. Huntingd.
at supra.
Gerv. Chron.
1379.

had constructed several forts round about it, to block it up. The principal of these, which he called the castle of Craumers, was very strong; and he had left there a large garrison, to restrain that of Wallingford from making excursions. The latter, however, were not so entirely shut up, but that they still preserved a communication with the neighbouring country, by a bridge over the Thames, which ran close under the outward wall of the castle. In order to cut off this passage, and complete the blockade, Stephen erected a fort at the head of the bridge, which made it impossible for the troops that defended the castle either to go out for provisions, or receive any in; and reduced them, in a short time, to grievous want. Brien Fitz-comte, their governor, who was a person of high rank and consideration in the party, seeing their condition so desperate, found means to send a message to Henry Plantagenet, desiring assistance from him without delay, or permission to surrender the castle to Stephen. That prince was much disturbed upon receiving this message, and greatly perplexed what part to take. It was now the depth of winter, a season very unfit for passing the sea; and, a worse obstacle to it was, that he had not yet made peace with the king of France. Nevertheless, as he apprehended the total discouragement of his party in England, if he should suffer a place of such importance to be lost, he

Book I.

V. Chron.
Norm. p. 987.
C.
Neubrigens.
l. i. c. 29.

he determined to go over, trusting to the truce between him and that prince, which he flattered himself he might soon convert to a peace, by being a little more yielding, than he had hitherto been, in the treaty. But, while he was diligently preparing to execute this resolution, Louis, informed by Eustace of what consequence it would be to detain him in Normandy at such a critical time, sent to return the hostages, which he had received from him on account of the truce, and to take back those he had given: notifying thereby his intention of immediately renewing the war. Henry was now under still greater difficulties in determining his conduct. To leave his dominions on the continent exhausted of troops, when they were menaced with an instant invasion from so powerful a prince, he thought very imprudent, and absolutely repugnant to the maxims he had learnt from his father and grandfather, always to prefer the conservation of present and certain possessions to the pursuit of uncertain hopes. At the same time, his friends in England desired him to bring a great force to their aid; and to go with a small one would expose him to evident danger, and might, probably, hinder many from declaring in his favor, who would be willing to do so, if they should see him attended by a numerous army. The conjuncture appeared to be decisive. Stephen was now in a state of hostility with Rome and

and his bishops, a circumstance of the highest advantage to his enemies; that quarrel might be made up; Eugenius was old and likely to die very soon; another pope well disposed to the house of Blois might be chosen. The archbishop of Canterbury would think himself slighted and ill used, if Henry did not support him, but suffered the power of the king to encrease, when, in all probability, the whole strength of it would be exerted in punishing those, who had ventured to set him and his son at defiance. The bishop of Winchester also would be obliged to return to the interests of his brother, unless the part he had lately taken against him, in the very important affair of his son's coronation, was justified by the courageous proceeding of Henry. Nor was it only his friends among the clergy whom that prince was afraid to lose, by neglecting this crisis. The earl of Chester's irresolution was not to be fixed, but by his presence in England; and, if he lost that potent lord, he lost the chief support of his party. The earls of Pembroke and Hertford would probably make their peace with Stephen, if they saw the affairs of that monarch in a prosperous state; and others would be deterred from declaring against him, upon whose aid the duke of Normandy knew he might count, if he could stop the present course of Stephen's success. Among these the earl of Leicester was a principal object

Book I.

object of his hopes and attention : for that nobleman had too much offended the king, not to desire to take from him the power of being revenged : but he would not engage with Henry in his absence, nor go any greater lengths towards a revolt, till he should see what support he would be likely to find in changing his party. The suffering Wallingford castle to fall into the power of Stephen, would be an indelible stain to the honor of Henry, and produce, not only fear and dejection of spirit, but coldness and alienation in all his adherents.

A. D. 1153.

Chron. Norm.
et Neubrig.
ut supra.

Having well weighed all these things, but chiefly consulting his own magnanimity, and rather considering what was most honorable for him to do, than what was most safe, he determined to go into England, without losing a moment of time. Yet, that he might not expose his territories in France to any danger, during his absence, he left behind him much the greater part of the forces, which he had intended to carry over with him, and embarked with a body of only three thousand foot and a hundred and forty knights; trusting that his presence would encourage his party to join him, and that he should be strengthened by almost a general defection from Stephen. He had a passage more favorable, than, from the season of the year, he could well expect, and landed very happily, it is not said where, but probably at Wareham, on the sixth

sixth day of January, eleven hundred and fifty three. The king, I imagine, either had no fleet at that time, or had neglected to guard the sea between England and Normandy, from an opinion, that Henry would be stopped by the war renewed against him in France.

Book I.
Gerv. Chron.
sub ann. 1153.
Neubrig. ut
supra.
H. Huntingd.
sub ann. 18.
Steph Reg.
Chron. Norm.
p. 687, 688.
Ann. Waverl.
sub ann. 1153.

As soon as the arrival of that prince was known, his mother's old friends, who had not yet made their peace with Stephen, immediately joined him: but they were somewhat disheartened at his not having brought a greater army; and those of the other party, who had given him hopes, that they would declare for him as soon as he should land, shrunk back from their promises, when they found that he was come no better attended. The bishops themselves, who had been more eager than any others in calling him over, remained unactive. A man of less resolution would have been intimidated and disconcerted at this disappointed^{ment}; but he, full of confidence, endeavoured to raise the spirits of his friends by the alacrity of his own courage, and, having called a council of war, told them, he thought their strength sufficient to win the crown for him, and deliver themselves from the tyranny, under which they groaned, though not another man should stir to assist them: yet he did not question that they would presently be joined by great numbers, if they acted with vigour; whereas, if they discovered any symp-

symptoms of fear, they must despair of all support. He concluded by declaring, that he was resolved to undertake some considerable action, without loss of time; and desired them to advise him, what he should first begin with; as they were better acquainted, than he was, with the country. Hereupon they unanimously gave him their opinion, that he should lay siege to Malmſbury; a place which, if he could take it, would greatly facilitate the relieving of Wallingford, and which they hoped he might make himself master of, by a sudden attack, before the king could draw his forces together. This counsel pleased him: he immediately marched, assaulted the town, and took it, in a very short time, together with the castle, except one tower, which being too strong to be taken by assault, he blocked it up, with a design of reducing it by famine. Stephen, who had intelligence of his having performed this spirited action, almost as soon as he heard of his landing in England, was much alarmed. He made all the haste he could to assemble his forces, and having formed a great army marched directly to the enemy, and offered them battle. But Henry, who was much inferior to him in numbers, kept himself close in his camp, which on one side was defended by the walls of the town, and on the other by the river Avon; continuing still the blockade of the tower of Malmſbury, and avoiding to fight, unless
Stephen

Stephen should attack him ; which he could not do in such a post, without extreme disadvantage. That monarch, nevertheless, determined to risque it: for he found his army suffer much by the severity of the cold, and apprehended that delay would strengthen the duke. He therefore advanced to the river, with a resolution to pass it, though he saw the enemy all drawn up, in order of battle, on the opposite bank. But, as he came on, there arose a wintry storm, with violent showers of hail and sleet, which drove directly in the faces of his men, who, quite benumbed with the wet and cold, lost all use of their arms, all strength, and courage; while those of the duke, having the wind in their backs, and being much better sheltered, suffered little by it. The river was swelled by the rains and rendered impassable; so that Stephen, despairing now of any success, and unable to bear the inclemency of the weather, which continued very bad, retired to London.

This had great consequences in favor of the duke. Soon afterwards the tower of Malmshbury was surrendered: the earl of Leicester declared for him: the countess of Warwick, whose husband was then dying, delivered to him that castle; and thirty other strong places, in different parts of the kingdom, were likewise yielded up. The people all believed that Heaven fought for him; a notion that did him much service. His force

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Book I.

Vid. auctores.
citat. ut supra.

was now sufficient to enable him to attempt the relieving of Wallingford, which object he had most at heart: nor would it suffer any longer delay; the garrison being ready to perish with famine. He therefore marched thither, with all possible expedition; passed unmolested through the whole chain of forts, that Stephen had built round about it; and re-victualled the castle: the garrisons of those places not daring to sally out, or give any obstruction to his enterprise. Having accomplished his purpose, he proceeded to besiege the castle of Craumers, the strongest of the forts abovementioned. Accordingly, he drew lines of circumvallation about it, and extended them from thence to Wallingford castle. Thus he cut off all supplies from the garrison, and effectually prevented the siege; he was making, from being disturbed by incursions of the enemy's troops, out of the other smaller forts. He had leisure to complete these works, before Stephen, who staid some time at London to refresh and recruit his forces, was able again to take the field. At last that prince, having made the utmost efforts to collect his whole strength, marched towards Wallingford with an army more numerous than the duke's. Many of the barons attended his standard, and among them the earl of Arundel, a man famous for his eloquence no less than for his valor. William of Ipres was likewise there, at the head of the mercenaries. Foremost of all, and
most

most eager to fight, was Prince Eustace, being fired, not only by the ardor of youth and great natural courage, but by strong emulation against Henry, the rival of all his pretensions. Both had, from their infancy, been bred up in expectation of the kingdom of England; both had been invested with the dutchy of Normandy; both had married wives of the first rank in Europe; their age was the same; their valor equal: but in wisdom, in knowledge, in the decency and the dignity of his behaviour, in all the virtues of civil life, Henry was vastly superior to Eustace.

As soon as the former had intelligence that the king was coming against him, he made a sudden sally out of Wallingford castle, and took by storm the fort at the head of the bridge, which Stephen had erected the year before. Having thus opened to himself a free passage over the river, and a communication to the castle with the country on that side, he threw down his lines, and marched out, with great alacrity, to meet the king and give him battle. For, though inferior in numbers, yet as the disparity was not very great, he thought it more prudent, as well as more for his honor, to brave the enemy in the field, than to wait for him behind entrenchments; an army being much stronger, by the spirit, and confidence in its own valor, which such an animating conduct inspires, than by the uncertain defence of ditches and ramparts. Nor yet did he totally raise the siege he had formed, but left a sufficient

Vid. auctores
citat. ut supra,

force to continue the blockade of the castle of Craumers, till he should return. He had not gone very far, when in the midst of a wide and open plain, he found Stephen encamped, and pitched his own tents within a quarter of a mile of him, preparing for a battle with all the eagerness, that the desire of empire and glory could excite, in a brave and youthful heart, elate with success. Stephen also much wished to bring the contest between them to a speedy decision: but, while he and Eustace were consulting with William of Ipres, in whose affection they most confided, and by whose private advice they took all their measures, the earl of Arundel, having assembled the English nobility, and principal officers, spoke to this effect.

“ It is now above sixteen years, that, on
 “ a doubtful and disputed claim to the crown,
 “ the rage of civil war has almost continu-
 “ ally infested this kingdom. During this
 “ melancholy period how much blood has
 “ been shed! What devastations and misery
 “ have been brought on the people! The
 “ laws have lost their force, the crown it’s
 “ authority: licentiousness and impunity
 “ have shaken all the foundations of public
 “ security. This great and noble nation
 “ has been delivered a prey to the basest of
 “ foreigners, the abominable scum of Flan-
 “ ders, Brabant, and Bretagne, robbers ra-
 “ ther than soldiers, restrained by no laws,
 “ divine

“ divine or human, tied to no country, sub-
 “ ject to no prince, instruments of all tyranny,
 “ violence, and oppression. At the same
 “ time, our cruel neighbours, the Welsh
 “ and the Scotch, calling themselves allies
 “ or auxiliaries to the empress, but in reality
 “ enemies and destroyers of England, have
 “ broken their bounds, ravaged our borders,
 “ and taken from us whole provinces, which
 “ we never can hope to recover, while, in-
 “ stead of employing our united force against
 “ them, we continue thus madly, without
 “ any care of our publick safety or national
 “ honor, to turn our swords against our own
 “ bosoms. What benefits have we gained to
 “ compensate all these losses, or what do we
 “ expect? When Matilda was mistress of
 “ the kingdom, though her power was not
 “ yet confirmed, in what manner did she
 “ govern? Did she not make even those of
 “ her own faction, and court, regret the
 “ king? Was not her pride more intolerable
 “ still than his levity, her rapine than his
 “ profuseness? Were any years of his reign
 “ so grievous to the people, so offensive to
 “ the nobles, as the first days of her’s?
 “ When she was driven out, did Stephen
 “ correct his former bad conduct? Did he
 “ dismiss his odious foreign favorite? Did
 “ he discharge his lawless foreign hirelings,
 “ who had so long been the scourge and the
 “ reproach of England? Have not they
 “ lived ever since upon free quarter, by

Q 3

“ plun-

“ plundering our houses and burning our
 “ cities? And now, to complete our mis-
 “ eries, a new army of foreigners, Angevins,
 “ Gascons, Poitevins, I know not who, are
 “ come over with Henry Plantagenet, the
 “ son of Matilda; and many more, no doubt
 “ will be called to assist him, as soon as ever
 “ his affairs abroad will permit; by whose
 “ help, if he be victorious, England must
 “ pay the price of their services: our lands,
 “ our honors, must be the hire of these ra-
 “ pacious invaders. But suppose we should
 “ have the fortune to conquer for Stephen,
 “ what will be the consequence? Will vic-
 “ tory teach him moderation? Will he learn
 “ from security that regard to our liberties,
 “ which he could not learn from danger?
 “ Alas! the only fruit of our good success
 “ will be this; the estates of the earl of
 “ Leicester and others of our countrymen,
 “ who have now quitted the party of the
 “ king, will be forfeited; and new confis-
 “ cations will accrue to William of Ipres.

“ But let us not hope, that, be our vic-
 “ tory ever so complete, it will give any
 “ lasting peace to this kingdom. Should
 “ Henry fall in this battle, there are two
 “ other brothers, to succeed to his claim,
 “ and support his faction, perhaps with less
 “ merit, but certainly with as much ambi-
 “ tion as he. What shall we do then to
 “ free ourselves from all these misfortunes?
 “ —Let us prefer the interest of our country
 “ to

“ to that of our party, and to all those pas-
 “ sions, which are apt, in civil dissensions,
 “ to inflame zeal into madness, and render
 “ men the blind instruments of those very
 “ evils, which they fight to avoid. Let us
 “ prevent all the crimes and all the horrors
 “ that attend a war of this kind, in which
 “ conquest itself is full of calamity, and our
 “ most happy victories deserve to be cele-
 “ brated only by tears. Nature herself is
 “ dismayed, and shrinks back from a com-
 “ bat, where every blow that we strike may
 “ murder a friend, a relation, a parent. Let
 “ us hearken to her voice, which commands
 “ us to refrain from that guilt. Is there
 “ one of us here, who would not think it
 “ a happy and glorious act, to save the life
 “ of one of his countrymen? What a felicity
 “ then, and what a glory, must it be to us
 “ all, if we save the lives of thousands of
 “ Englishmen, that must otherwise fall in
 “ this battle, and in many other battles,
 “ which, hereafter, may be fought on this
 “ quarrel? It is in our power to do so—It
 “ is in our power to end the controversy,
 “ both safely and honorably; by an amicable
 “ agreement; not by the sword. Stephen
 “ may enjoy the royal dignity for his life,
 “ and the succession may be secured to the
 “ young duke of Normandy, with such a
 “ present rank in the state, as befits the heir
 “ of the crown. Even the bitterest enemies
 “ of the king must acknowledge, that he is

Q 4

“ valiant,

“ valiant, generous, and good-natured : his
 “ warmest friends cannot deny, that he has
 “ a great deal of rashness and indiscretion.
 “ Both may therefore conclude, that he
 “ should not be deprived of the royal autho-
 “ rity, but that he ought to be restrained
 “ from a further abuse of it ; which can be
 “ done by no means, so certain and effectual,
 “ as what I propose : for thus his power
 “ will be tempered, by the presence, the
 “ counsels, and influence of Prince Henry ;
 “ who, from his own interest in the weal of
 “ the kingdom, which he is to inherit, will
 “ always have a right to interpose his advice,
 “ and even his authority, if it be necessary,
 “ against any future violations of our liber-
 “ ties ; and to procure an effectual redress
 “ of our grievances, which we have hitherto
 “ sought in vain. If all the English in both
 “ armies unite, as I hope that they may,
 “ in this plan of pacification, they will be
 “ able to give the law to the foreigners, and
 “ oblige both the king and the duke to con-
 “ sent to it. This will secure the publick
 “ tranquillity, and leave no secret stings of
 “ resentment, to rankle in the hearts of a
 “ suffering party, and produce future dis-
 “ turbances. As there will be no triumph,
 “ no insolence, no exclusive right to favor,
 “ on either side, there can be no shame, no
 “ anger, no uneasy desire of change. It will
 “ be the work of the whole nation ; and all
 “ must wish to support what all have esta-
 “ blished.

“ blished. The sons of Stephen indeed may
“ endeavour to oppose it: but their efforts
“ will be fruitless, and must end very soon,
“ either in their submission, or their ruin.
“ Not have they any reasonable cause to
“ complain. Their father himself did not
“ come to the crown by hereditary right.
“ He was elected in preference to a woman
“ and an infant, who were deemed not to
“ be capable of ruling a kingdom. By that
“ election our allegiance is bound to him
“ during his life: but neither that bond,
“ nor the reason for which we chose him,
“ will hold, as to the choice of a successor.
“ Henry Plantagenet is now grown up to an
“ age of maturity, and every way qualified
“ to succeed to the crown. He is the
“ grandson of a king whose memory is dear
“ to us, and *the nearest heir male to him in*
“ *the course of descent*: he appears to re-
“ semble him in all his good qualities, and
“ to be worthy to reign over the Normans
“ and English, whose noblest blood, united,
“ enriches his veins. Normandy has already
“ submitted to him with pleasure. Why
“ should we now divide that dutchy from
“ England, when it is so greatly the interest
“ of our nobility to keep them always con-
“ nected? If we had no other inducement
“ to make us desire a reconciliation between
“ him and Stephen, this would be sufficient.
“ Our estates in both countries will by that
“ means be secured, which otherwise we
“ must

“ must forfeit, in the one, or the other,
 “ while Henry remains possessed of Nor-
 “ mandy : and it will not be an easy matter
 “ to drive him from thence, even though
 “ we should compel him to retire from Eng-
 “ land. But, by amicably compounding his
 “ quarrel with Stephen, we shall maintain
 “ all our interests, private and publick. His
 “ greatness abroad will encrease the power
 “ of this kingdom : it will make us respect-
 “ able and formidable to France : England
 “ will be the head of all those ample domi-
 “ nions, which extends from the British
 “ ocean to the Pyrenean mountains. By
 “ governing, in his youth, so many different
 “ states, he will learn to govern us, and
 “ come to the crown, after the decease of
 “ king Stephen, accomplished in all the arts
 “ of good policy. His mother has willingly
 “ resigned to him her pretensions, or rather
 “ she acknowledges that his are superior :
 “ we therefore can have nothing to appre-
 “ hend on that side. In every view, our
 “ peace, our safety, the repose of our con-
 “ sciences, the quiet and happiness of our
 “ posterity will be firmly, established by the
 “ means I propose. Let Stephen continue
 “ to wear the crown that we gave him, as
 “ long as he lives ; but after his death let it
 “ descend to that prince, who alone can put
 “ an end to our unhappy divisions. If you
 “ approve my advice, and will empower me
 “ to treat in your names, I will imme-
 “ diately

“diately convey your desires to the king and the duke.”

The earl of Arundel undoubtedly acted in concert with the principal men in both armies. His speech was received with great applause. The impression it made upon the nobles and gentry was soon communicated to the soldiers, and produced in their minds a sudden change. Those, who before had been the most ardent to fight, now threw down their arms, and loudly declared their wishes for a peace, on the foundations which the earl had marked out. Seeing these good dispositions so general in them, and being sure of a support from the most powerful barons, he proposed it to the king with a tone of authority, rather than of counsel. William of Ipres and his troops, surprised at this novelty, inferior in numbers to the English of their own party, and apprehending a junction of the two armies, stood in suspense and silence, looking on the king, and waiting his orders. Astonishment, rage, and indignation choaked up the speech of Eustace. Stephen, amazed, confounded, intimidated, after some pause and conflict in his mind, yielded to an immediate cessation of arms, and to a conference with the duke, in order to a treaty, which he was sure would end in nothing, but loss and dishonor to himself and his family.

The earl of Arundel then proposed to the duke and his army what he had opened to the

Vide auctores
citat. ut supra.

Vide auctores
citat. ut supra.

the king: but, in order to secure the success of his business, he had sent before him some monks and other ecclesiasticks, to negotiate, in private, with the English nobility there, and dispose them to back his proposal. He had, himself, a secret intelligence with some of the greatest, and knew that the measure was agreeable to them, and would be strongly supported by their concurrence. The duke at first was very averse to it, and resolved to gain or lose all, as the fortune of war should decide: for Stephen, being yet under fifty years old, and of a vigorous and hale constitution, might live many years: and therefore to grant so long a term to a reign, which Henry thought an unjust and violent usurpation, seemed to him very hard. Nor could his strong sense and clear judgment be persuaded to believe, that any sincere or lasting peace would be procured by this means. But fearing to be abandoned by all his English friends, whom the earl of Arundel's eloquence, and secret intrigues, had rendered unanimous in desiring a treaty, he at last was induced, though with the utmost reluctance, to consent to the interview, which the king had agreed to, within a little distance from their two camps. They met upon the opposite banks of the Thames, which there is very narrow, and conferred together, a long time, without any attendants.

It is said, that they mutually complained to each other of the treachery of the barons, and

and of their insolence in presuming to dictate such terms to their masters. What further passed is unknown; but they parted without any decisive agreement; only a short suspension of arms having been settled between them, which, not entirely to oppose the desires of his friends, Henry had yielded to, on this advantageous and honorable condition, that the king himself should demolish the castle of Craumers.

The greatest obstacle to a peace was prince Eustace. He, who had a spirit as high as his birth and pretensions, saw himself, if this plan should take effect, reduced to the obscurity of a private condition; or, at best, to the two earldoms of Boulogne and Mortagne; after having lost the duchy of Normandy, and the kingdom of England. Such a degradation appeared to him the worst of evils; and resentment having inflamed his natural courage to a disregard of all danger, without knowing well by what methods to oppose it, he absolutely determined not to submit to it. At his father's return from Gerv. ut supra. the conference, he upbraided him bitterly, for having had the abject complaisance to treat with his enemy, according to the dictates of his mutinous subjects. He told him, "that, by listening to such a proposal, he would sacrifice, not only his son, but himself, to a vain shadow of peace, and to the mere name of royalty, deprived of all it's power and majesty: that a succes-

" for

“ for forced upon him, so injuriously to his
 “ family, and to his royal dignity, would
 “ be, in reality, his master and king: that
 “ it would have been better to have died,
 “ with his sword in his hand, at the head
 “ of his foreign troops, who were still
 “ faithful to him, than have timidly sub-
 “ mitted to such an indignity: that, for
 “ his own part, he protested against this
 “ treaty, and would make no peace with
 “ Henry, while he could get an arm to
 “ strike for him, in England, or in France:
 “ nor would he stay any longer, to be a
 “ witness of the weakness and servitude of
 “ his father.” Having thus vented his in-
 dignation he broke away suddenly, without
 deigning even to wait for any reply; and
 taking along with him the knights of his
 household, and all who were particularly at-
 tached to his person, repaired to Cambridge.
 He staid there some time, and found means
 to draw together, beneath his own standard,
 several persons of desperate fortunes and
 minds, to whom civil war was a benefit and
 a security, designing, with their assistance,
 to act for himself, and render the proposed
 accommodation more difficult.

The cessation of arms, agreed to between
 Stephen and Henry, being expired, the war
 was renewed, though not with great alacrity
 on either side, as the negotiations for peace
 were still carried on, and the leading men,
 in both parties, concurred very zealously to
 promote

promote their success. A detachment of the king's troops, commanded by William de Quercy, governor of Oxford, by the brave William Martel, and by Richard de Lucy, coming to make an incursion into the country possessed by Henry, he put himself at the head of a body of forces sent to his assistance by some of the bishops, met this party on their way, attacked and defeated them, took twenty knights, and pursued the rest as far as Oxford. After this action, his light-armed troops over-ran and pillaged the country. At their return to his camp, they brought in a great booty: but he commanded it all to be restored to the persons from whom it was taken, saying, *It was not to plunder the people, but to deliver them from the rapine of the great, that he came into England*: words of more use to him than many such victories, and which he most effectually and honorably fulfilled, during the whole course of his succeeding reign. Nor did he only gain the commons. Many of the nobility, one after another, forsook Stephen's party, and came over to his; even some, who had been, hitherto, most averse to his cause: but all were desirous of a treaty on the terms the earl of Arundel had proposed. Nevertheless the spirit of the king, awakened by the reproaches of a son whom he loved, appeared to be now determined against the conclusion of an accommodation, so ignominious to himself, and so ruinous

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H. Huntingd.

Chron. Norm.

Neubrigenfis,

et Gerv. ut

suprà.

publick. Yet his nature was not utterly void of all virtues; but it was miserably depraved by a bad education. He had been bred, even from his cradle, amidst the licentiousness, cruelty, and impiety of a long civil war; without proper care, in those to whose tuition his youth was committed, to preserve him from the contagion of such pestilent times, by opposing good instructions to evil examples. As he grew up, he became dissolute, fierce, and intractable. A low taste of pleasure carried him into mean company: so that he wasted a great part of his time with buffoons, and all the scum of a loose court or disorderly camp; which vile society debased his mind, and corrupted his heart. Otherwise he might have been capable of doing great things: for he possessed, with the activity, and courage of his father, a more determined resolution; and discovered, in the earliest bloom of his youth, such talents for war, as gained the admiration even of the oldest commanders. To his friends he was affable, courteous, and liberal; but his bounty was too often extended to persons, whose only merit was serving his vices. Upon the whole, he seemed made to perpetuate the mischiefs, that England endured under the reign of his father, and perhaps to increase them.

His death removed the greatest impediment to the peace of the kingdom; and the settlement of it was advanced, in a lower degree,

V. Johan. Sarisf. Polieratic.
five de Nugis
Curialium,
l. vi. c. 18.

Gest. Steph.
Reg. p. 973,
974.

Johan. Sarisf.
Polierat. ut
supra.

gree, by that of his dearest friend, the young earl of Northampton, who also died, in the same week, of a fever. Stephen had given that lord the earldom of Huntingdon, upon the decease of Henry prince of Scotland, not long before; and his apprehension that the duke would restore it to Malcolm, the eldest son of that prince, made him very averse to any reconciliation between him and the king. Another cause, that might render him implacable to the duke, was a grant which the latter had made to the earl of Chester of some of his possessions, if he did not take part with him in the war against Stephen. Nothing shews more the spirit of the times and the character of the earl of Chester, than the manner in which he had treated with the duke, when that prince came to England. Notwithstanding the bitter rancour of his heart against Stephen, and the engagements he had taken with Henry in Scotland, he did not declare for the latter, till by a covenant in the form of a charter, he had granted to him the city and county of Stafford, Nottingham castle, Derby, and Mansfield, with many great baronies. Of these grants some were absolute, and others conditional, if the persons, by whom they were possessed at that time, would not join with the duke. For such was the miserable state of the kingdom in this intestine war. The barons on either side were equally treated as rebels by the opposite party. Besides what was given

V. Dugdale's Baron. p. 39. ex ipso autog. in Biblioth. Cotton. et Rymer's Fœdera, vol. i. p. 124

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to the earl of Chester himself, Henry promised to give to six of his vassal barons, lands of one hundred pounds annual value to each out of the estates he should gain from his enemies. These were high terms; one hundred pounds in those days being equivalent, at least, to fifteen hundred at present: but the power of the earl was so great, that Henry could hardly buy him at too dear a price: and as he formerly had sold his allegiance, both to Stephen and Matilda, so he now bargained for it, a third time, with the duke, and at every sale raised the price. But he apprehended that these grants would be revoked and annulled, if the earl of Arundel's proposal should be accepted. He therefore wished to obstruct the conclusion of the treaty, or at least to maintain his own power independent on either prince, by acting separately and only for himself; hoping that both would be constrained, by this conduct, to grant him any conditions, that he might not be an obstacle to the peace of the kingdom, which could not be tolerably settled without his concurrence. But, while he was pursuing this plan, he was poisoned by William de Peverel, whose lands Henry had granted to him in the abovementioned charter, *unless, as the words of that deed express it, William could acquit himself of his wickedness and treason, by a fair trial, in a court of justice.* What the nature of his treason was, we are not informed; but it must certainly have been some-

Gerv. Chron.
subann. 1153.

something more heinous, than merely adhering to the party of Stephen; perhaps an attempt against the life of the earl, to whom he was a vassal. His guilty conscience durst not abide a legal decision, but prompted him to take this villainous method of preserving his lands: for there was no kind of wickedness, into which the great profligacy of those lawless times did not draw even gentlemen of birth and distinction. Among the many evils that attend on civil war, one of the worst is the universal corruption of manners, the hardness of heart, and familiarity with the most horrid crimes, which it seldom fails to produce. The power of government being lost, all the bonds of society are quickly dissolved; the passions of men become the rules of their actions; and fear itself makes them flagitious and cruel. Some virtues indeed, which would otherwise be concealed, may be called out into action by such commotions: but even these are often forced to accommodate themselves to the spirit of the times, further than the strict rules of integrity would allow in any other circumstances: so that nothing can be more pernicious to the morals of a nation than civil war, except that despotism which turns even the power of government to the destruction of virtue.

The earl of Chester being thus taken off, immediately after the death of the earl of Northampton, and of Prince Eustace, there remained no other to oppose the earl of

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Arundel's

Arundel's scheme. The desire of quiet, and a relief from the miseries they had suffered so long, was enough to recommend it to the body of the people; who generally look no further in matters of state, than to their present ease and security. But some of the nobles and bishops had other views, of a more refined policy. The entire defeat, either of Stephen, or Henry, they thought would render the conqueror a more absolute master of them and the kingdom, than they desired; whereas, so long as one of them was afraid of the other, and the royal authority was divided between them, it could not be vigorously exerted by either; but each must be forced to depend upon his faction. Thus they proposed to govern both, and prevent any punishment of former offences, which most of them had abundant reason to fear, or any controul upon their future behaviour, which certainly they were little disposed to endure. The bishop of Winchester acted wholly upon this system.

If the abilities of that prelate had not been very great, his frequent change of party must have destroyed his credit and influence: but he managed so skilfully, that, which way soever his own interest led him, he seemed only to follow that of the church. A constant pretence of zeal for the cause of religion excused and sanctified his ambition, his treachery, his frequent breach of the most solemn oaths and all the obligations of duty

or

H. Huntingd.
f. 227. n. 30.

A. D. 1153.

or nature. He had indeed, for some time past, been under a cloud, and much humbled by the mortifications he had received from the enmity of Eugenius the Third: but the death of that pontiff, which happened in this year, having delivered him from that persecution, the archbishop of Canterbury was obliged to admit him into a participation of all ecclesiastical power in the kingdom. The sagacity, subtilty, and vigour of his mind, with the advantage of his high birth and great riches, gave him such an influence over the clergy, and by them over the people; that, so long as the two parties were evenly balanced, he was able to dictate to both. It was therefore his interest to keep them in that state, and to hinder a decision, which would make either the king, or Henry, his master; especially, as he had cause to apprehend the resentment of each of those princes, for his past behaviour. There is good reason to think that the earl of Arundel's scheme was projected by him: since one can hardly account, upon any other motive, for his having opposed the crowning of his nephew, or taking so active a part, as we find that he did, in negotiating this agreement. The archbishop of Canterbury, likewise joined with him; and the earl of Arundel seems to have left the conduct of it entirely to them: for they alone are mentioned, as mediators, on this occasion, between the two princes, and, if we may judge by one of the articles imposed upon Henry, the

V. Ger.
Chron. et Di-
ceto, sub. ann.
1153.
H. Huntingd.
f. 228.
St. Dun. hist.
contin. per J.
P. Hagust.
p. 282.

Book I.

Neubrigenfis,
l. i. c. 30.

bishop of Winchester had the chief management of the treaty in his own hands. The main difficulty of it consisted in settling what share of present power should be allowed to the duke in the government of the kingdom: for, in reality, there remained none about the succession; William, the only legitimate son of Stephen then living, not being supported, as his brother had been, by an affinity with the king of France, nor having the same invincible courage, desperately to oppose such an accommodation, and keep up the drooping spirit of his father. The queen, who would have been grieved to see her posterity deprived of the crown, and might, by her magnanimity, have animated her husband, had died before Eustace; and Stephen, in losing her, had lost no little part of his strength: for she had been generally beloved by the people. His mind, oppressed and dejected with sorrow for her death, sought present ease, and would not sacrifice this to the future greatness of his family, which the young man, who now remained the sole heir of that family, was unfit to maintain. He therefore consented that Henry should be acknowledged as heir to the crown, with certain stipulations in favor of William; but thought that admitting him, by the conditions of a treaty, to a share of the government in his own life-time, was in effect to depose himself. And certainly he would have acted with much better sense, if he had firmly persevered in refusing that point, which was, in truth, improper to be granted;

granted; any division of the royal authority being a dangerous weakening of government, and naturally productive of faction, disorder, and discord. But Henry would not be contented with the prospect of a crown in reversion, and judged, very prudently, that, even in order to secure to himself that reversion, it was necessary to insist on some present authority, and not leave the entire direction of the kingdom, which he was to inherit, in an enemy's hands. Nor did the mere settlement of the succession on him, after the death of the king, answer the purpose of those who managed this treaty. The impossibility of adjusting an article of so delicate and important a nature, in such a manner as to satisfy both the king and the duke, retarded the conclusion of the peace for some months after the death of Prince Eustace: but at last, being overcome by his brother's persuasions, and fearing to be left by all his nobility, Stephen consented to accept such terms, as that prelate was able or willing to gain for him; and Henry, having weighed the solid advantages, which he was sure to obtain by this agreement, against the doubtful success of a war, to which he saw his friends averse, agreed not unwillingly, or, at least with no appearance of discontent, to what was proposed. All being previously settled between them, a great council was summoned, *by writs from both*, to meet them at Winchester, about the end of November, in the year eleven hundred and fifty three, but

A. D. 1153.
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(probably by the management of the bishop of Winchester, to keep the treaty more in his own hands) the meeting was chiefly composed of ecclesiastics. In this imperfect parliament a convention was made, between the two princes, upon the foundation of the earl of Arundel's plan; which being confirmed by the assent, and even by the oaths of all present, the king and duke went together to London, amidst the acclamations of the people, that seemed to be equally paid to both; but in reality Henry triumphed, and Stephen was led captive. Yet, as the proceedings at Winchester might well have been questioned, because that assembly was little better than a synod of churchmen, a more regular parliament was soon afterwards summoned, to meet the king and the duke at Oxford, where what had been settled in the other was confirmed. We have among our records the charter, or declaration, by which Stephen notified to all his subjects the agreement he had concluded with the duke: and it is witnessed by all the English bishops, with some of the principal noblemen of each faction. He there says, that *he had constituted Henry, duke of Normandy, his successor in the kingdom of England, and his heir by hereditary right, and so had given and confirmed the said kingdom to him and his heirs.* That, in return for the honor so done him, and for the donation and confirmation so made to him, the duke had done homage to him (the king) and had sworn that he would be faithful to him, and defend his

See Reymers
Fordera,
vol. i. p. 13.
et Brompt.
Chron. 1037,
1038, 1039.
See also Appendix.

his life and honor to the utmost of his power, according to the agreement contained in this charter. And he (the king) had reciprocally sworn to the duke, that he would defend his life and honor, to the utmost of his power, and maintain him, in all respects, and against all men, *as his son and heir*.

Upon these clauses it is observable, that there is, in the wording of them, a remarkable care to avoid an acknowledgment of any such title to the crown in the duke, as would have impeached that of Stephen. His right of succession is grounded upon a kind of *adoption* of him made by that king; and the kingdom is declared to be *given* and *confirmed* to him and his heirs, not in virtue of his birth, but as in consequence of the voluntary *act* and *donation* of Stephen, who *constitutes him his heir*, and considers him *as his son*. The word *confirmed* may seem indeed to contain some intimation of a right prior to this act; but it stands so connected with others that imply a contrary sense, as not easily to admit of such a construction. There was certainly a great deal of art in this method to colour over what Stephen was constrained to submit to, and save his honor, as far as appearances and fictions could save it.

The charter, or declaration, goes on to say, that William, Stephen's son, had done homage to Henry and sworn fealty to him; and

and that he, in return, had granted to that prince all the honors and lands, in England, or Normandy, or any other country, which his father had enjoyed before he was king; or which he himself had acquired by his marriage with the daughter and heiress of the late earl of Surrey; or which his father had given him since he came to the crown: all which he was to hold immediately of the duke, with some reservations to the rights of other persons, as specified in the charter. And, *further to confirm the favor and affection of the king to the duke*, some additional honors and lands were granted by the latter to William. It is also declared, that the duke had confirmed all *grants*, or *restitutions*, made by the king to the *church*: that such earls or barons of the duke's party, as had never done homage before to Stephen, did it now, and swore fealty to him, under the limitations contained in the present conventions between the two princes: and that those of the said party, who had done homage to him before, took a new oath of fealty to him, as their liege lord, and swore, that, in case the duke should ever violate the agreement then made, they would entirely quit his service, till he had corrected such errors or faults in his conduct.

On this clause it may be observed, that those earls or barons, *who had never done homage to Stephen*, were probably the sons of some

some who had died in the service of Matilda during the course of the war; such as the earls of Gloucester and Hereford. For it appears, that, when Stephen granted his charter at Oxford, all the barons of England did homage to him; as I have already related: but, as the civil war lasted long, there might be many to whom honors and lands had descended during the course of it, who, being engaged with Matilda, and therefore not acknowledging Stephen as king, had taken no oaths to him before this agreement; and the words of this declaration express, that it was *in consideration of the honor done by him to Henry their lord* that they now became his vassals. I understand, from what follows, that *these* persons also swore, that, if the duke should ever break his engagements, they would not stand by him, unless upon his amendment.

The declaration says further, that the king's son would, in like manner, by the advice of the holy church, withhold from the duke the service, which, as his vassal, he was bound to perform to him, if he should depart from what he had there promised: and that the earls and barons of the king's party had done *liege homage* to the duke, saving the fidelity they owed to the king, as long as he should live and hold the kingdom, under the same condition, with respect to the saving clause, viz. that if he, the king,

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king, should ever break his engagements, they would all cease to serve him, till such time as he had corrected his errors or faults.

Proper securities were given to the duke, that the forts of the kingdom should be delivered up to him after the death of the king : and they agreed to act jointly, against any governors of the castles and forts belonging to the crown, who should prove contumacious or rebellious against them.

The archbishops, bishops, and abbots of England, by the command of the king, swore fealty to the duke : and it was agreed that all others, who should, from that time forwards, be made bishops or abbots, should likewise take the same oath. The archbishops and bishops of either party took upon themselves to restrain and correct, by ecclesiastical censures, the king, or the duke, if either of them should violate the afore-said conventions ; for the performance of which, the mother of the duke, his wife, and his brothers, were also to engage, and together with them, as many more of his relations or friends, as could be prevailed upon to pledge themselves for him.

Lastly, the king declares, that he would act in the affairs of the kingdom by the advice of the duke ; but would exercise royal justice in the whole realm of England, *as well in that part of it which belonged to the duke, as in that which belonged to himself.*

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These last words do not mean that the kingdom was divided between Stephen and Henry; no mention being made of such a partition in any ancient writer, nor in any other article of this declaration: but they must be understood to signify such parts of the kingdom as were in the power of the king or the duke, by being in the hands of their friends and adherents. It is remarkable that no change was permitted to be made by either prince, in the government of the counties, of the cities, of the towns, or of any strong places; but it was stipulated in the treaty, that all should be left as they were before it was made, only under obligations of fealty to both: so that the strength of the two factions continued unaltered; and Henry's party being the stronger, he was, in every thing but the name of king, superior to Stephen. And when the latter engaged to act in the affairs of the kingdom by the advice of the duke, he really put the whole government into his hands, though he reserved to himself the supreme administration of justice: for that reserve did not destroy the right of the duke to interfere in all councils and acts of state, and to complain that the compact was broken by the king, if his advice was not followed. His complaints indeed would have signified little, if he had not been able to procure by force the redress he desired: but in this circumstance a right to advise was a power to command.

mand. Accordingly, we find in some of the writers, who lived in, or very near to those times, these expressions; that, in consequence of this treaty, *all the affairs of the kingdom were determined by Henry*; and that it was settled between Stephen and him *that he should direct the affairs of the kingdom*: nay, one of them says that *the king transferred his own rights and power to the duke, and reserved to himself, during his life, only the image of the royal dignity*.

V. Hoveden,
sub ann. 1153.

J. Hagustald,
p. 282.
Diceto Imag.
Hist. sub ann.
1153.

There were also four, separate and secret articles, agreed on at Winchester, and not published by Stephen in this declaration, but distinctly mentioned by some of our ancient historians; viz. *that Henry should defer to the bishop of Winchester, as to a father, in the business of the kingdom: that the king should resume what had been alienated to the nobles, or usurped by them, of the royal demesne: that all the castles built in this reign should be pulled down: and that all foreign troops should be sent out of the kingdom*.

V. J. Hagust.
ut supra.

V. Diceto ut
supra.
M. Paris,
p. 61.

V. J. Hagust.
et Diceto ut
supra.

The first of these articles shews how necessary Henry thought it, at this time, to pay a particular court to the bishop of Winchester, who, according to his usual policy, easily yielded himself to any revolution, but with a constant view to the advancement, or, at least, the security, of his own power. Yet, in this instance, Henry seems to have been

been the better politician ; for he gave him only fair words, but really placed his whole confidence in the archbishop of Canterbury, and by the assistance of that prelate secured to himself the clergy of England.

Upon the article concerning resumption of lands it must be observed, that it extended only to the grants made to *laymen* ; the bishops having taken care that all made to the *church* should be allowed and confirmed ; as appears by an express article in the king's declaration. The church in those days drew every thing to itself, and let nothing return.

The two last articles were essentially necessary to the peace of the kingdom. How intolerable a grievance the armies of foreigners introduced by both parties, though first by Stephen, had been to the whole nation, I have already set forth. Much has also been said of the mischiefs which had arisen from the great number of forts and castles built in this reign. One of the contemporary historians affirms, that they were no fewer than eleven hundred and fifteen ; most of which had been made the perpetual retreats, and strong-holds, of rapine, lust, and all kinds of enormities : nor could there be ever any hope of a settled tranquillity or an orderly government, while these asylums of disobedience were suffered to remain.

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The whole nation therefore desired to free themselves from this evil, and likewise from all foreign troops, as soon as peace should be restored; and both the articles abovementioned were presently afterwards published and confirmed, by an edict of the great council, or (to use a more modern phrase) by act of parliament.

V. Diceto ut
supra.
Chron. Norm.
p. 989.

Other regulations were made, for the restoring of private estates, that had been taken away by force, to their right owners; for the reforming of the coin; for the re-peopling of the country; and for the establishing of justice, good order, and commerce, again in the kingdom.

Huntingdon,
f. 228.
Gervase, Di-
ceto, ut supra,
Neubrig. l. i.
c. 30.

Thus was this extraordinary agreement concluded, and an apparent calm succeeded to the storms, which had so long and so violently agitated the nation. Some face of a civil government was now restored: the laws revived: the king was obeyed: Henry paid him all external forms of respect; and others were forced to it by the example and authority of that prince. But this shew of amity did not last above two or three months. Stephen had some about him, whose interest was too much affected by the treaty, not to excite them to employ all their influence with him, to make him break it: and it was not hard to find arguments, by which one of so flexible and inconstant a nature might be

be persuaded, that he ought not to keep it. They represented to him, that, if he discharged his foreign troops, he would deprive himself of the firmest part of his strength; and the remainder, which he had found so disloyal, would bear no proportion to that of Henry. The dismissal of them would indeed be a popular act; but the popularity of it would not light upon him. Henry would have the honor of having compelled him to part with them; and it would be proper to consider, in what a situation his other concessions had already put this young man, and how he might use the advantages he had gained, if his ambition should be equal to his power. Every day would augment his force. The eyes of all men would be turned towards him, and from Stephen. Their hopes, which are the strongest attachments to bind their fidelity to a prince, would all go to Henry. Their discontents would redound to his benefit. He alone would be applied to for the redress of every grievance, real, or supposed. The ill humour of the disappointed, the turbulence of the factious, the wants of the indigent, the ambition of the great, the inconstancy of the vulgar, would naturally draw the whole nation to him, and leave the king without subjects. From all this they inferred, that Stephen ought on no account to part with his mercenaries, but should elude that article of the treaty, keep all his strength as entire as he

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possibly could, use all arts to encrease it, and wait for opportunities, which time might afford, to break the dishonorable and burthenfome chains, he had been forced to put on. These arguments being agreeable to his own secret thoughts, could not fail to make a great impressiion upon him, and he was checked by no scruples, having been accustomed to violate the most solemn engagements. His mercenaries therefore were retained, and several castles, which were in the custody of his friends, continued undemolished, against the faith he had given to the duke, and with a manifest purpose to maintain his own faction in their full strength; while Henry's party was weakened by the loss of many strong places, which had been pulled down, in conformity to the treaty of Winchester; and by his having dismissed all the foreigners engaged in his service. The duke, alarmed at this, procured a new parliament to assemble at Dunstable, where, with great modesty, but with proper force, he complained of the king for having violated the agreement between them, in points of such moment; and desired a sincere and complete execution of it, without any further delay. Stephen, however, found some specious excuses, to put it off; and Henry thought fit, though very unwillingly, to receive those excuses, rather than come to an open rupture with his new *father* so soon: the state of his foreign affairs, which began
now

now to require his presence abroad, making him afraid of being too long detained in this island, if he should draw the sword in resentment of these proceedings. But he neglected no caution to secure himself from the clouds he saw gathering about him; and while nothing was openly talked of, but union and peace, distrust, the fore-runner of civil war, was disposing both parties to overturn an agreement, founded on principles of too much refinement, and held together by too weak a cement, to last very long. It seems to have been copied long afterwards, in the accord made by parliament, and by the chiefs of both factions, between Henry the Sixth and the duke of York. That was quickly broken; and yet it was more likely to have lasted than this; Henry the Sixth being a man of a much weaker spirit than Stephen. But, in this instance, if a war had ensued, the event of the contest would, in all probability, have proved fatal to Stephen: for Henry had now almost the whole nation attached to his interests, both by their oaths and affections. The quarrel would have been solely imputed to the king, and he would have appeared to have made it from the most odious cause, viz. the breach of those articles which the nobility, clergy, and people of England, were most desirous to see performed, not for the sake of the duke, but of themselves; for their own safety, and honor. And though, by faithfully execut-

Book I.

ing these parts of the treaty, Henry had lost a considerable strength, yet his gain from it, would have greatly exceeded his loss. For a union of the English, supported by the spiritual arms of the church, which would have been employed against Stephen and all who adhered to him, in case of a rupture apparently commenced by his fault, would undoubtedly have done the duke much more service, than he could have drawn from the castles he had demolished, or the foreigners he had dismissed. A prince, who dares venture to throw himself wholly upon the affection of his country, is much more likely to have success, and will be much less embarrassed if he succeeds, than he who relies on any foreign strength. But it would have been always in the power of Henry, if he had found that he really stood in need of such aid, to bring over reinforcements from his foreign dominions, without any offence to the English; who, in that case, would have laid all the blame of the necessity, on the king, not on him. So that every way, if the war had been renewed, he must have been superior to Stephen.

Gerv. Chron.
sub ann. 1154.

If we may believe Gervase of Canterbury, some of the mercenaries conspired to assassinate Henry; William of Blois, Stephen's son, being privy to the plot, which was to have been executed upon the road between Dover and Canterbury, as Henry was returning with the king from a conference, held

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at Dover with the earl and countess of Flanders. The same author says, that William breaking his leg, by a fall from his horse on Barham Down, Henry was saved by that accident; which having disconcerted and stopped the conspirators, he happily got some notice of their design: upon which he immediately went to London, and there taking ship passed over to Normandy, before these ruffians had time to resume their conspiracy, and put his life again in danger. But the credit of this story seems doubtful; as none of the mercenaries were prosecuted by Henry on that account, when they were in his power, after the death of Stephen; and as we find that he then treated William of Blois with great kindness; which he would hardly have done, if there had been any evidence, or even a probable suspicion, of his having been guilty of so foul a treason. Nor is it likely that so young a man should have engaged in such an action, without the knowledge of his father, whom even Gervase of Canterbury does not accuse of having been acquainted with the conspiracy. The duke's departure from England may be accounted for, by the state of his foreign affairs in that conjuncture: and it seems, at least, very certain, that if he did hasten it, in consequence of some alarm of this nature, he afterwards found no proof sufficient to condemn any of the persons accused, even in his own judgment.

Book I.

V. Hoveden, subann. 1152,
 1153. par. i.
 Ann. Waverl.
 subann. 1153.
 Buchanan.
 Dav. I.
 V. Neubrig.
 l. i. c. 23.
 Malmsh. l. v.
 c. 10. f. 89.
 de Hen. I.
 Buchan. ut
 supra,
 J Hagust.
 subann. 1154.

Scotland had taken no part in all these transactions, being disabled from giving any assistance to Henry by the death of David the First. That king had died in the year eleven hundred and fifty three, within less than a twelvemonth after the decease of Prince Henry, his son; during which time his attention had been wholly employed in settling the succession, and other affairs of importance within his own kingdom. The loss of these two princes, who were the support and glory of their country, was much bewailed by the Scotch. In justice, in fortitude, and all royal virtues, the father had equalled the greatest kings; and the son had promised to equal the father: nor did they less resemble one another in the piety, purity, and sanctity of their lives. Neither of them was ever so much as suspected of an unlawful amour; though David, after the death of Matilda, his consort, whom he passionately loved, had remained a widower above twenty years. He was the first king of Scotland, who (to use the expression of William of Malmshury) *having been polished by his education and familiarity in the English court, had rubbed off all the rust of the ancient Scotch barbarism*, and likewise had endeavoured to polish his people: for which purpose, soon after his accession to the crown, he granted an exemption, for three years, from all taxes, to as many of his subjects, as, in their houses, their tables, and their dress, would be more elegant than the

the rest of their countrymen, according to the modes then practised in England. But, at the same time, he took care, that by refining their manners he might not corrupt them: for he restrained all luxury, and banished out of Scotland all epicures, and such as studied arts to provoke the appetite: so that his people learned from him a strict moral discipline, together with the graces of a decent politeness; lessons that are seldom taught to a nation by the same master! He drew to his court many knights and barons of England, from whom several noble families in Scotland are descended. It appears too, that he occasionally employed them in his army; which might well have excited a national jealousy in his subjects: and that it did not is a great proof of the affection they had for him, and of their extraordinary confidence in his good intentions. But, amidst the encomiums made on him equally by the Scotch and English writers, the former have blamed him for an excessive profuseness in his bounty to the church. And indeed he went too far: for, besides adding four bishopricks to the six that he found endowed by his predecessors, he built and repaired a great number of monasteries, and for the support of these donations alienated so much of the lands of the crown, that he impoverished all his successors; which made king James the First of Scotland say, not unwittily, that *he was a sore saint for the crown*. Yet this was a fault,

fault, not of the man, but of the religion in which he was educated: the piety of a prince, in the notions of those times, being measured by the extent of his prodigality to the church. David has also been blamed by some English historians, on account of the cruelties committed by his forces in their incursions into England. But they themselves own, that he used his utmost endeavours to restrain their barbarity; and therefore it seems that both he and Malcolm, his father, against whom an accusation of the same nature is brought, were more unfortunate than criminal in it; the ferocity of their troops overcoming the gentleness of their own dispositions, and all that their discipline could do to tame it. Upon the whole, he was one of the very few princes fainted by Rome who deserve a place in the catalogue of good and great kings. The Scotch were the more afflicted at his death, and that of his son, because his grandson, who succeeded to his crown, was under age. But Macduff earl of Fife, who had the guardianship of the young king, named Malcolm the Fourth, and all the nobility, to whose care and affection David had, on his death-bed, recommended that prince, maintained the kingdom free from intestine disorders; and wisely avoided to intermeddle any further in the dissensions of England; only desiring to preserve, if they could, what had been gained from that country in the late reign. Nor had Stephen the leisure to give them

them any disturbance, either before, or after the treaty of Winchester: so that they kept possession of the three northern countries, as long as he lived.

Henry arrived in Normandy a little before A. D. 1154. Easter in the year eleven hundred and fifty four. His interests there had not suffered much by his absence. Though Louis, in order to stop his design upon England, had threatened a renewal of the war in those parts, yet when he found that his departure had not left either that dutchy, or Anjou, or any province of Aquitaine, without a strength sufficient to defend them, he was not very forward to undertake any enterprize of moment against them; contenting himself with burning a small market town, and one of the suburbs of Vernon in Normandy: but afterwards, being strengthened by aid from the earl of Flanders, he laid siege to the castle. As Henry was nephew to the countess of Flanders, one should rather have expected that her husband would have taken part with him in this war; but, either he preferred the friendship of Louis, or thought himself bound to assist him as a vassal. Nevertheless, after the siege had lasted a fortnight, he resolved to draw off his forces, as having fulfilled the time of service required by his tenures. Louis, upon this, must have raised the siege with disgrace, if he had not found means of corrupting the governor, Richard de

Chron. Norm.
from. p. 987.
to 991.

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V. Chron.
 Norm. ut sup.
 Diceto Imag.
 hist. sub ann.
 1151.
 Vincent. Bel-
 vacen. sub
 eodem anno.

de Vernon, who treacherously surrendered to him the castle and town. He then quitted Normandy, and did not return till September, when all he performed was setting fire, by surprize, to an unfortified quarter of the town of Verneuill. Nor had he made any further attempt against that dutchy, or any other dominion belonging to Henry, at the time when that prince came over from England; having been wholly taken up with the pleasures and pomps of his new marriage, which was consummated by him, in the beginning of this year eleven hundred and fifty four, with Constantia the daughter of Alphonso the Eighth, king of Castile: who, from his superiority over the other Spanish kings, and his victories over the Moors, had assumed the high title of Emperor of Spain. But he secretly intrigued with some nobles of Aquitaine, and excited them to a revolt, which was easily done; the nature of their government affording perpetual matter of discord between them and their duke, and the heat of their temper inflaming all differences into a war. Henry delayed not a moment to go into Aquitaine: for he well understood that any such disorders, however inconsiderable they may appear, will soon become dangerous, if they are not attended to in their first beginnings; and that the presence of a sovereign is sometimes of more use to appease them than his arms. The rebels were struck with fear at his coming

coming among them, and quickly submitted; the contagion of rebellion having been stopped by his great diligence, before it had spread very far: so that, tranquillity being restored in those provinces within a few months, he went back into Normandy, and renewed his negotiations for a peace with Louis, or rather continued them, and pressed their conclusion. For, as that monarch had made no attack upon Normandy during the troubles in Aquitaine, it is probable he was much disposed to a peace, but waited till he had seen how these would end, before he took his resolution. The death of Eustace facilitated the treaty; Louis being no longer embarrassed with the claim and complaints of a brother in law, whom he was ashamed to forsake. An unwillingness to leave his bride was also a motive, to make him incline the more to peaceful counsels. Nor did Henry neglect to sooth him by the strongest professions of respect for his person, and zeal for his service; which wrought so much on his easy disposition, that he forgot all the anger he had conceived against that prince on account of his marriage; and in the month of August, this year, a treaty of peace was concluded, to Henry's great satisfaction. For Louis restored to him Neufmarché and Vernon, the only towns he had lost, on condition of his paying the moderate sum of two thousand marks, in consideration of the charge which the king had sustained,

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in taking, fortifying, and keeping those places. No part of Aquitaine was yielded by the duke; nor were any advantages obtained by Louis for Geoffry Plantagenet, or any of his other confederates. Thus was that storm, which had threatened Henry with total destruction, most happily laid, without any loss to him in all his dominions on the continent. And by means of this peace, he was enabled to resist any civil commotions, which might again break out in England, with the whole strength of those territories; or at least he was now freed from any apprehensions of danger to them, if he should be obliged by new troubles, or other affairs of importance to return into that island: an advantage so great, that, if he had bought it at the price of a province, it would not have cost him too dear. Never, indeed, did the policy of King Henry the First draw him out of a difficult and dangerous war with more glory; nor ever was that monarch more revered for his wisdom, than his grandson was at this time. The crown of England, which he had effectually secured to himself, cast an additional splendor upon him. He was also very happy in his domestick life. Eleanor, in the second year of their marriage, had brought him a son, and was now again big with child. But, as all human felicity must have allays, he had but just concluded his peace with Louis, when he fell dangerously ill. His youth and the strength of his constitution pre-

preserved him; and, having recovered his health, he immediately led an army into the French Vexin, to reduce one of the barons belonging to that province, who had taken up arms against Louis. This was an acceptable service to that prince, and helped to consolidate the friendship between them, which Henry desired to render as firm as he could: for peace alone, without amity, would not answer his purpose, by leaving him at full liberty to apply all his attention to his English affairs. He therefore most willingly performed this act of feudal obedience: nor did it cost him much trouble, for the baron submitted peaceably to his mediation, and was reconciled by him to the king, on terms that satisfied both. From thence he went to besiege a castle, which had revolted against him in Normandy, for what reason we are not told; but most probably on account of a resumption of grants, which he had begun, about this time, to make in that dutchy. While he was employed in this siege he received intelligence of Stephen's death.

Chron. Norm.
ut supra.

That prince, from the time of their parting till the feast of St. Michael, had been taken up in a progress through some of the counties remote from London, affecting to shew himself in all the state of a king to his subjects, after so long an eclipse of his majesty; and so far exerting the royal authority with real advantage to himself and his people, that he caused

Gerv. Chron.
sub ann. 1154.
Neubrig. l. i.
c. 32.

several

several castles, built during his teign, and which were become dens of thieves and receptacles of villains of every kind, to be burnt to the ground before his eyes: but still he spared many others, which his own friends were possessed of, notwithstanding the remonstrances Henry had made on that account. One of those which he thought fit to demolish in Yorkshire was with great contumacy held out against him, by Philip de Tolleville, who imagined it so strong, by it's situation enclosed with rivers, marshes, and woods, by the goodness of the works, the plentiful stores of provision, and the courage of the garrison, who were all persons of desperate fortunes like himself, that the reducing of it would be a work of more time and labour, than Stephen would be willing to bestow upon it. But that prince assembling a great army from all the neighbouring counties, in addition to the force he had with him before, took it by assault, in a few days. This was the last memorable act of his life. For on the twenty-fifth of October, in the year of our Lord eleven hundred and fifty four, he died of the piles and of an iliac passion, in a convent at Dover, to which town he had gone to meet the earl of Flanders, who desired a second conference with him, the subject of which we are not told by any historian. His death was unlooked for, both by his friends and his enemies, as he was then but in the fiftieth year of his age, and a man of great strength,

strength, not addicted to any excess or intemperance. He left but two legitimate children, William of Blois and a daughter whose name was Mary. Some authors say he had two, and others three, natural sons; one of whom, named Gervase, was abbot of Westminster: another, named Ranulph, is said to have been chamberlain to Henry the Second: probably the other died young; for that any provision was made for him I cannot discover.

The valor of this king was much the most shining part of his character. In the field of battle he was a hero, though every where else an ordinary man. But even his military abilities were chiefly confined to the use of his sword and battle-axe. The extent of his genius was not proportioned to a great plan of action: his foresight was short and imperfect, his discipline loose, and his whole conduct in war that of an alert partisan, rather than of a discreet and judicious commander.

He had in his nature some amiable virtues, as generosity, clemency, and affability, which, under the direction of wisdom and justice, would have given him a place among the best of our kings: but for want of those lights to guide and rule them, they were unworthily, weakly, and hurtfully employed. His mind was very active, and always pushing him on

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HISTORY OF THE LIFE

to bold undertakings, in which he seldom proved successful: for setting out wrong, and having left the strait path of honor and virtue, he got into a labyrinth of perplexed and crooked measures, out of which he never afterwards could extricate himself, either with reputation, or safety.

The times, and circumstances, in which he was placed, required a steady, calm, and resolute prudence: but he acted only by starts, and from the violent impulse of some present passion; always too eager for the object in view, and yet too lightly changing his course; too warm in his attachments, and too impetuous in his resentments.

The guilt of his usurpation was aggravated by perjury, and by the blackest ingratitude to his uncle, King Henry, from whom he had received such obligations; as, to a mind endued with a right sense of honor, would have been no less binding than the oaths he had taken. This was a stain on his character, which even the merit of a good government could not have effaced: but his was so bad, that it might have expelled a lawful king from an hereditary throne. Indeed the weakness of his title, and the too great obligations he had to the clergy in his election, were incumbrances that hung very heavy upon him, and the original causes of all his troubles. Yet against both these difficulties, uneasy

uneasy as they were, he might have found a resource in the affection of his people. Henry the First, in the beginning of his reign, was no less indebted to the clergy than he, nor was his title more clear: notwithstanding which he maintained himself in the throne, and kept the church in due obedience, by a government popular without meanness, and strong without violence. But bribes and a standing army of the most odious foreign mercenaries were the wretched supports, on which his successor leaned to secure a precarious and unnatural power. Instead of gradually trying to shake off the fetters, which the church had imposed upon him at his accession to the crown, by the proper and legal assistance of parliament, he was continually weakening the royal authority, by further concessions to the bishops, in hopes of attaching them more firmly to his interests; and, when he ventured to quarrel with them, he did it in a manner, which hurt the privileges of his temporal barons no less than theirs, and made civil liberty appear to be interested in their defence. Thus he destroyed the only ground upon which he could stand, and changed the nature of the question between him and Matilda, making her cause, and her son's, the cause of the nation, instead of a personal claim of inheritance.

His private life was far better than his publick conduct. He was a good husband and kind father: but to his children, as well

as to his friends, he was too kind, and took no care to restrain the vices of their youth ; a fault, which is indeed very blameable in a king, because of the mischiefs it may bring upon his people.

He was remarkably free from superstition ; a merit very uncommon in that ignorant age, and seemed to indicate a strength of understanding, which did not belong to him in any other respects. There is a strange inconsistency in human nature ! The greatest minds often fall into weaknesses, which the lowest would be ashamed of ; and persons of mean parts are exempt from certain follies, to which very wise ones are enslaved ! Nor did this superiority in Stephen produce such effects on his government, as might naturally have been expected from it. The weakest bigot that ever reigned could not have sacrificed more of the rights of the state to a false sense of religion, than he did to false notions of interest and ambition.

Considering him in the most favorable lights we shall find him unfit for a throne. If he had been only an earl of Mortagne and Boulogne, he might perhaps, by his courage, liberality, and good-nature, have supported that rank with a very fair reputation. But no great idea can be formed of a monarch, whose whole conduct in government broke every rule of good and true policy : who, having gained the crown he wore by the love
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of the nation, governed by a foreign minister, and foreign arms; yet, at the same time, gave way to innovations, which rendered his subjects formidable to him; then by all means of absolute despotism, without regard to law or justice, endeavoured to subdue the power he had raised; and after having made his whole reign a long civil war, purchased at last a dishonorable and joyless peace, by excluding his son from the succession to the crown, adopting his enemy, and leaving himself little more than the vain pageantry and empty name of a king.

*End of the FIRST BOOK of the History of the
Life of King HENRY the Second.*

T H E H I S T O R Y

O F T H E L I F E O F

K I N G H E N R Y T H E S E C O N D .

B O O K I I .

TH E death of Stephen was a favor A. D. 1154. of providence to the people of England, which saved them from many great impending evils. The peace of the kingdom no longer depended upon the fictitious union of natural and irreconcilable enemies. Henry Plantagenet was now the unquestionable and sole king of England. Whatever secret schemes had been formed, or might be forming, to defeat his succession, they were entirely overthrown by this event. It has been mentioned before, that he was besieging a castle in Normandy which had revolted against him, when intelligence came to him that Stephen was dead. The lords of his council advised him to hasten to England,

V. Neubrig.
l. i. c. 32.

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land, for fear his enemies should use the opportunity of his absence to excite some disorders; but he coolly replied, that they would not dare to do any thing, and could not be persuaded to raise the siege, till the castle had been forced to surrender at discretion, which it did in a few days. Nor was his confidence vain: for he had established his power in England on such a solid foundation, and put the care of his interests into such safe and able hands, that his presence there was not necessary: and this being the case, it was certainly wise in him, not to leave behind him any root of rebellion. It might indeed have been natural for so young a king, to be more impatient to put on his royal robes: but the solidity of his mind gave no way to the impressions of vanity, and he preferred, upon all occasions, what was really great to the ostentation of greatness.

Chron. Norm.
P. 990.

Having entirely pacified Normandy he went to Rouen, and conferred with his mother, who prudently agreed to remain, as before, in that dutchy, and not go with him to England; thinking that her presence might hurt him there, as she was not beloved by the English; or feeling, perhaps, that it would not be agreeable to reside as a subject where she had reigned as a queen. Whatever right she had to the crown, a formal cession of it, in favor of her son, by any

any public act, was not thought to be necessary, nor does it appear that he desired it: her acquiescence in what had been settled by the treaty of Winchester being esteemed by the nation, and even by her own most zealous friends, a sufficient release of the oaths they had taken to her, either in the life-time of her father, or after the battle of Lincoln. And Henry himself might think, according to the notions received in those days, that his title, in itself, was better than hers; as he was the nearest heir male to his grandfather, King Henry. Certain it is, that there was no renunciation declared on her part, nor resignation of her claim in his behalf; but his right of succession was left upon the foot of the treaty of agreement between him and Stephen. This great point being adjusted, he summoned all the barons and prelates of Normandy, to advise with them upon all that was proper to be done in the present emergency, particularly with regard to the affairs of that duchy; but he seems to have confided the government of it entirely to Matilda, endeavouring thus to make her some amends for giving him no trouble in the kingdom of England: and it must be owned that she deserved the most thankful acknowledgments, and best returns in his power, on that account. For though it is certain, that, if she had attempted to contend with him for it, she would not have succeeded, yet, by such a dispute

Book II.

Gerv. Chron.
Huntingdon.
sub ann. 1154.
Neubrig. l. i.
c. 32. l. ii.
c. 1.

dispute, she would have grievously embarrassed his filial piety, and disturbed his quiet. But all being accommodated to their mutual satisfaction, Henry, and his two brothers, with Eleanor, and a most splendid train of nobility, repaired to Barfleur, at which port they intended to embark; but the winds being contrary, they were detained there a month, during all which time no disorders happened in England. The archbishop of Canterbury (Theobald) was eminently instrumental in preserving the peace of the realm, by the extraordinary diligence, prudence, and firmness, with which he acted at the head of a regency, or council of state, that had the care of the government till Henry should come over: but it was principally owing to the affection of the public, which the king had acquired, and to the dread of his power, which awed the most factious spirits. Nevertheless he was uneasy at so long a delay; and the very first moment that the change of the wind enabled him to sail, he put out to sea in such weather, that his fleet was dispersed, and he was himself in some danger of being shipwrecked; but, the storm abating, he landed in the New Forest, not far from Hurst castle, on the seventh of December in the year eleven hundred and fifty four, about six weeks after the decease of Stephen,

A. D. 1154.

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Upon the king's arrival at Winchester, the nobles, the prelates, and gentry of England crowded from all parts of the kingdom to meet him, not only as their sovereign, but as their *deliverer*. His journey from thence to London seemed to be a continued triumphal procession; and that city itself, which had been always the most devoted to Stephen, received him with the highest marks of affection. A few days afterwards, on the nineteenth of December, he and his queen were crowned in Westminster abbey by the archbishop of Canterbury, without any such capitulation having been offered to him, as had been made with his predecessor, or any other terms but the usual oath of the ancient kings of England. This was sufficient to bind the conscience of a good prince; and recent experience had convinced the nation, that they would not be able to restrain a bad one by any other form of words that could be devised. Nor was it consistent with reason or good policy, to suffer the oaths of allegiance to be limited by conditions; and declarations to be inserted into those oaths, that they should not be binding, unless such conditions were observed; as Stephen had allowed to be done in the homage and fealty, which he received from the bishops and from Robert earl of Gloucester. Indeed, a dissolution of all obligations on the part of the subject, by the sovereign's breaking those in which the relation between them

them consists, is implied in the very nature of feudal allegiance; nay, I might say, of all government and lawful subjection: but to set out with a supposition that such an odious case will exist, and make an express provision for it, is what the wisest free states have judiciously avoided. Henry therefore would not admit of any such expressions in the oaths taken to him; but brought them back again to the customary form. Nor did he distinguish the clergy, in any respect, from his lay subjects, by favors conferred on them, as a body of men who had interests separate from those of the community. He would not encourage faction in any of it's members; but least of all in them, who ought always to be the furthest removed from that evil, and who, in the late reign, had been carried by it so far out of the bounds of their sacred functions, to the detriment of the whole state, and greatly to the dishonor of religion itself. How much his predecessor had injured the commonwealth, and weakened the civil power, by the concessions made to the church at the beginning of his reign, he well understood, and avoided every thing which might seem to lay him under obligations of so dangerous a nature. Neither did he condescend to apply to the pope, as Stephen had done, for a confirmation of his title; not having any need of such a support, and being sensible that Rome would avail herself of it

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against the independence and dignity of his crown. The much stronger pillars, on which he was determined to fix his throne, were the laws of his country and the love of his people. To gain that love, he did not stoop to the arts of low popularity : he neither debased the majesty of his crown, nor exhausted its treasures ; he did not relax the vigour of government, nor plunge the nation into any excesses of riot or luxury ; but dealt impartial justice to all his subjects, and let none of them be deprived of his royal goodness. The narrow and iniquitous spirit of party did not confine the benignity of his nature, nor the integrity, greatness, and candour of his mind, within its own limits. He saw that to raise again the glory of his kingdom, it was necessary first to restore concord and union among his people, to allay all heats, to quiet all fears, and to extinguish all memory of their former divisions. This he was able to effect ; because no false principles or notions of government stood in his way, by the obstinacy of which a reconciliation of parties might be obstructed. His title was now universally acknowledged ; and all attachment to the house of Blois seemed to have been buried in the grave of King Stephen. He therefore thought it equally unjust and unwise, to keep his resentments still alive. The conduct he held was such, as satisfied those, who had most violently opposed his mother,

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or himself, in the late civil war, that, by their concurrence in the treaty of Winchester, they had obtained his forgiveness, and might, by their future loyalty, aspire to the highest degree of his favor. Thus he happily prevented the rage of despair from disturbing his government, and healed those wounds, which a less gentle treatment, and a less skilful hand, would have rendered incurable. Nevertheless, in forgetting injuries he did not forget services; but eminently distinguished and rewarded the zeal of those friends, who had been the most faithful and able supports of his party.

Gerv. Chron.
sub ann. 1155.
Neubrigenfis,
l. ii. c. 1, 2, 3.

Soon after his coronation he met his great council, and advised with them concerning the state of his kingdom. The result of their deliberations was the instant execution of the treaty of Winchester, in those parts which his predecessor had left unperformed, beginning first with that capital article, the sending away the foreign troops. It was not without extreme reluctance that these mercenaries thought of leaving the kingdom. They had long been accustomed to riot on the spoils of it, and many of their officers had acquired great establishments in it, particularly their general William of Ipres; to whom the earldom of Kent had been given by Stephen, with all the wealth that the bounty of a most prodigal monarch could bestow on a favorite, who knew no scruples

Vide Fitzsteph.
& Camden in
Kent.

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in obeying the will of his master, nor any moderation in enriching himself. Others had been rewarded, in proportion to their rank, with liberal grants, which the waste of the royal demesne, or the confiscations of the adverse party, had supplied. To part with all these emoluments, to give up the recompence of so many crimes, appeared to them very hard; and they would willingly have prevented it by still greater crimes, if it had been in their power. But they could find no competitor to set up against Henry; William of Blois, Stephen's son, being too young, and too weak, in all respects, to undertake so perilous an enterprize; and no other nobleman having pretensions, or power, or discontent enough, to engage with them, in any attempt against the king, or the peace of the kingdom.

Under these circumstances, this formidable body of veteran forces, who had so long been the terror of the people of England, began to fear for themselves, deprived, as they were, of all support, and exposed to the resentments of an injured, insulted, and high-spirited nation. The divisions that had weakened it in the preceding reign, and the protection of the crown, which was never withdrawn from them, had been their security; but they could not be able now, with the royal power against them, to withstand the united strength of the whole kingdom.

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Book II.

One hope remained, viz. that Henry himself might accept of their services, and (as his predecessor had done) make them the instruments of arbitrary power. Examples are frequent of princes having recourse to those measures of government, as useful and necessary, which they had complained of, as national grievances, before they came to the throne. William of Ipres, who had been long experienced in affairs, and was too wicked to believe that any man could be virtuous, might therefore imagine, that Henry would think differently, when king of England, from what he had professed, at the head of the publick, in opposition to Stephen. But that prince was well convinced, that, to be a great king, he must continue at the head of the publick, and not degrade himself into the captain of a band of foreign mercenaries. He therefore determined to execute the resolutions of parliament against these men, and issued a proclamation commanding them all to leave the realm on pain of death, before a certain day, appointed in the edict. When that day came, not one foreign soldier was to be found in the kingdom: their general himself had gone with them, dispossessed of his earldom and other honors in England, the loss of which he bewailed with tears of rage; and, not able to bear this sudden change of fortune, forsook the world, and became a monk at Laon in Flanders, where he

V. Neubrig.
at *supra*.

See Dugdale
Baron. Kent.
& Camden's
Britain.

he died very penitent, in the year eleven hundred and sixty-two.

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The honor of the nation, as well as its liberty and repose, seemed to be restored by this act, and by the proceedings of Henry in another affair of a like nature, the destroying the castles which Stephen had kept undemolished, against the faith he had given. All those that had been erected in the late reign were now burnt, or levelled to the ground; except a few, that, from their situation, were judged to be necessary for the defence of the kingdom. While Henry was in the north, employed in performing this salutary work, William de Peverel, a great northern baron, who (as I have related in the preceding book) was accused of having poisoned the earl of Chester, conscious of his guilt and dreading the royal vengeance impending upon him, retired to a convent, as a stronger asylum than any of his castles: But when the king approached to his sanctuary, armed with all the majesty and terrors of justice, he durst not trust even to that; but fled out of the realm. He was immediately outlawed; and his lands were seized, as forfeited to the crown. Thus Henry revenged the death of the earl of Chester, and convinced other offenders, who in the reign of King Stephen had apprehended no punishment for the most heinous crimes, that it was his resolution they should not be safe

Gerv. Chron.
sub ann. 1155.
Neubrigensis,
ut supra.

VOL. II.

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even under the hood of a monk, nor within the protection of the altar itself.

But in his next undertaking he found greater difficulties. Stephen's extravagance and the insatiable demands of his faction had induced him to alienate so much of the ancient demesne of the crown, that the remaining estate was not sufficient to maintain the royal dignity. Some royal cities, and forts of great importance, had been also granted away, which could not be suffered to continue in the hands of the nobles, to whom they had been given, without considerably impairing the strength of the crown, and no less endangering the peace of the kingdom. Policy and law concurred in demanding these concessions back again. The ancient demesne of the crown was held to be sacred, and, like the lands of the church, so inalienable, as that no length of time could give a right of prescription to any other possessors, even by virtue of grants from the crown, against the claim of succeeding princes. But all these alienations were of no earlier date than the reign of King Stephen; and, therefore, the resumption of them was free from those difficulties, and insuperable objections, that must necessarily attend the resuming of grants transmitted down through several generations.

For these reasons it had been agreed by a separate and secret article in the treaty of
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Vide Sir Rob. Cotton, *Opus posthum.*

See also Fleta, l. iii. c. 6. et Bracton, l. ii. c. 5.

Winchester, that whatever lands, or possessions, had belonged to the crown, at the death of King Henry the First, should be now restored to it; except those that Stephen had granted to William his son, or had bestowed on the church. The latter exception was, doubtless, owing to the governing influence of the bishop of Winchester in that treaty. Nor durst the temporal barons, however dissatisfied, complain of a partiality, which was sanctified by the names of piety and religion. Among the resumable grants there were some of Matilda. For she too, acting as sovereign, had followed the example set her by Stephen, in giving away certain parts of the estate of the crown, to reward her adherents. And much had been usurped by the barons of both parties, without any warrant but the licence of the times, or pretences that could not be justified, when they were legally examined: so that no article of the treaty of Winchester was either more just, or more necessary, than that, which stipulated a resumption of all these alienations. Nevertheless it had been absolutely neglected by Stephen, for the same reason, I suppose, as had hindered him from fulfilling the other articles of that treaty, relating to the expulsion of all the foreign troops and the demolition of castles, because he sought to maintain a faction attached to himself, and was unwilling to withdraw his favors from persons, whose assistance he desired.

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Nothing else can account for so indigent a prince having been so remiss in this point. But Henry, who resolved to extinguish all factions, and was not obliged to court his nobility at the expence of his crown, as he meant to ask nothing of them inconsistent with their duty, saw the affair in other lights. He knew indeed that a resumption would raise much discontent in those affected by it, who were many and powerful: but he chose to stand their ill humour, with reason and law on their side, rather than to remain a needy king, or relieve his necessities by oppressing his people. Nor was he displeased to lessen by this means that exorbitant wealth, which rendered some of his subjects the rivals of his own greatness, and was as likely to make them rebels, as any resentment this measure could excite. He therefore summoned a parliament, wherein almost all his nobles were present, and having properly laid before them the wants of the crown, the losses it had suffered, the illegality of the grants, and the urgent necessity of a speedy resumption, obtained their concurrence to it, and proceeded to put it in immediate execution. The spirit of faction was so much overawed by the vigor of his government, that he met with less opposition than he had reason to expect. Very near all that had been granted to laymen, or usurped by them, in any manner, from the royal demesne, was surrendered to him, without blood-

bloodshed, after a little delay, and some ineffectual marks of reluctance in a few of the greatest barons. The earl of Albemarle, whom Stephen had made earl of Yorkshire, and who had ruled that province with more authority than his master himself, could ill brook the being compelled to restore to the crown all he had gained from the weakness of it in the late reign. His connexions were powerful, his credit and interest very high and extensive. Nor had any other nobleman stronger castles, or vassals more warlike. But great as he was, he found, that he now had a sovereign, who was greater than he, and would equally reign in every part of his kingdom. Henry passed the Humber, and coming upon him while he was deliberating, brought him, by the terror that his presence inspired, to a quiet submission, and entire restitution of all his grants, particularly, of Scarborough castle, which he had rendered one of the strongest in England. While this nobleman had been plotting a revolt in the north, his cousin-german, Roger de Mortimer, acting in concert with him, had also determined to maintain his own title to the royal castles of Clebury, Wigmore, and Bridgenorth, which being situated on the borders of Wales, where he had great power, he hoped to defend them against all the force of the king, with the assistance of his northern confederate, and of the young earl of Hereford, son to the famous Milo, whom he

Vide auctores
citat. ut supra.

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had instigated to join with them in this rebellion. That lord was much offended, that the son of Matilda should resume from him those grants, with which she had recompensed the services of his father; services unquestionably great and meritorious. He thought it very unjust, that no difference should be made between the gratuities which an usurper had given to the king's enemies, for the encouragement of his faction, and the rewards which the king's mother's had bestowed upon one, who, next to the earl of Gloucester, had been undeniably the chief support of her party. This reasoning appeared specious; but it was impossible for Henry to pay any regard to it, without overturning the whole system on which he proceeded. The cause assigned for these resumptions was not a defect in the title of the grantor, (for on that foot it is apparent that Stephen himself could not have agreed to it) nor any unworthiness in those who had received such favors from that prince, but the necessity of recovering the just and inseparable rights of the crown. To have made a distinction between the grants of Matilda and Stephen would have done that which the king was most careful to avoid; it would have revived the former animosities, and carried an appearance of his acting from motives, not of royal œconomy and public expediency, but of party-revenge: whereas, by this equal and impartial proceeding, he left

lest the adherents of Stephen no cause to complain, or apprehend any ill-usage, in other respects, on account of their past conduct. And, undoubtedly, if all distrusts of that nature had not been entirely removed by his prudence and candor, the peace of the nation could not long have continued. The earl of Hereford, therefore, had not, in reality, sufficient grounds for his quarrel: but heated by youth and the instigations of Mortimer, he secretly left the court, with a resolution to defend the tower of Gloucester, and the castle of Hereford, against Henry's claim. As he was allied by his mother to the Welsh, and had great estates in Wales, he procured some troops from that nation; and flattered himself, that, by acting in conjunction with Mortimer, he should be able to engage the whole strength of the marches, and counties adjacent to them, in the support of his cause. This insurrection might indeed have proved very troublesome and dangerous to the kingdom, especially if the earl of Albemarle had, according to his promise, taken up arms in the north. But Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford, a wise and virtuous prelate, went to the earl of Hereford, whose kinsman he was, and so wrought upon him, by the force of his exhortations and arguments, that he persuaded him to stop on the brink of the precipice, and give up the two castles. Henry not only pardoned, but restored him to favor, remembering his father's

merit, and knowing there was something so hard in his case, that it might reasonably excuse such a fall of passion, in a young man, who had an hereditary greatness of spirit. Thus was this strong confederacy broken: but Mortimer, though abandoned by both his friends, would not lay down his arms. Henry, incensed at his obstinacy, led a great army against him, with which, having divided it into three bodies, he at once assaulted the three castles of Clebury, Wigmore, and Bridgenorth; and though it was expected that each of them would stand a long siege, they were all surrendered to him in a short time. Before that of Bridgenorth, which was defended by Mortimer, he commanded in person, and exposed himself to so much danger, that he would there have been slain, if a faithful vassal had not preferred his life to his own. For while he was busied in giving orders too near the wall, Hubert de St. Clare, constable, or governor, of Colchester castle, who stood by his side, seeing an arrow aimed at him by one of Mortimer's archers, stepped before him, and received it in his own breast. The wound was mortal: he expired in the arms of his master, recommending his daughter, an only child and an infant, to the care of that prince. It is hard to say which most deserves admiration, a subject who died to save his king, or a king whose personal virtues could render his safety so dear to a subject, whom he had not obliged by

V. Radulphi
Nigri Chroni-
con Manu-
script. Bib.
Cotton. Vef-
pasian. D. X.
1. f. 33. sub
ann. 1165.

by any extraordinary favors! The daughter of Hubert was educated by Henry, with all the affection that he owed to the memory of her father, and when she had attained to maturity was honorably married to William de Longueville, a nobleman of great distinction, on condition of his taking the name of St. Clare, which the gratitude of Henry desired to perpetuate.

Mortimer, being constrained to surrender at discretion, expected no mercy from an exasperated sovereign, whose power he alone had presumed to defy. His haughty spirit now sunk, and humbled itself to supplications for mercy. Henry was satisfied, forgave him his revolt, and left him in free possession of all his honors and estates, except those that belonged to the demesne of the crown.

Thus was concluded this important and arduous business, in the prosecution whereof the king adorned the beginning of his reign with the most illustrious proofs of two royal virtues, by the happy union of which the honor, the peace, and the prosperity of a government are chiefly supported, *great firmness* and *great clemency*. The undertaking, most certainly, was full of difficulty and danger, even to the mightiest monarch; but besides the personal qualities which enabled Henry to act successfully in it, he
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was assisted by the general sense of the nation ; and, with this on the side of government, no strength of private interest ever was an overmatch for the power of the crown steadily and wisely administered.

Gerv. Chron.
subann. 1155.

The present quiet of the kingdom being now well secured, it was proper to extend the care of the legislature to future times. Henry therefore called a parliament to meet him at Wallingford, soon after Easter, in the year eleven hundred and fifty five, which settled the succession of the crown, after his decease, upon his eldest son William, who was then but three years old ; and, in case of the death of William (which happened soon afterwards) upon Prince Henry, a second son, born to him at London in the month of March this year. Oaths of fealty were accordingly taken to both ; and we may assuredly infer from this, as well as many other facts, that no right of birth, how indisputable soever, was thought, in those days, a sufficient title to convey the succession, without a parliamentary acknowledgment of it, followed and confirmed by feudal engagements. For, if the crown had then descended of course to the eldest son of the king, it would not have been necessary to summon a parliament purely on this account. Henry indeed found no difficulty to obtain their consent. The Normans and English were equally desirous to fix their monarchy in the family of a well-beloved prince, who sprung
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from the kings of both nations. The faction of Stephen, if it still existed, was silent. Henry's respectable and popular government, his justice, his moderation, and the great kindness with which he treated them, when it could not possibly be imputed to any weakness or fear, took from them the inclination, as well as the ability, of opposing his will.

In this great flow of prosperity, when all difficulties gave way to his power and fortune, if he had desired to assume a despotic authority, he, probably, might have succeeded. For, there is no time of greater danger to liberty, than the first calm, that succeeds to a long continuance of intestine commotions. Besides a general dread in the body of the people of losing again their newly-recovered tranquillity, there is usually, in such a season, a contest between the two parties, which shall outgo the other in flattering, and making court to the prince; and those are most servile, who think they have most to fear, or least to hope, from their past behaviour. Henry might have availed himself of these dispositions, as other kings have done in a similar situation: but he saw further, and judged better, than those who take such advantages to encrease their power. He well understood the temper of the nation, capable, perhaps, of submitting to absolute monarchy, in the first
violent

violent and thoughtless emotions of love or fear, but always incapable of enduring it long. And even supposing he could break the vigour of their spirit, and tame it to servitude, he knew that the master of a people so debased and dejected must necessarily himself be sunk by their vileness, and could not be a great king. These reflections concurring with a generous sense of virtue, which appears to have been deeply fixed in his mind, he readily determined by what policy he should govern this kingdom. In another parliament, held at London soon after this time, or rather in the same, adjourned to that city, he granted to his people a *charter of liberties*, confirming that of his grandfather, King Henry the First.

See the charter in the Appendix to this Volume.

Thus, by the magnanimity of this excellent prince, was the whole state of England, which had suffered alike by tyranny and by faction, compleatly re-established in those legal rights, that were the proper fences to guard it from both those evils. It was not indeed so well secured, either from the one, or the other, as it is by the wisdom of our present constitution : but, from the mixture of Saxon customs, which mitigated and tempered the Norman institutions, it was the best feudal government subsisting, at that time, in any part of the world. Nor was Henry content with having only restored good laws to his people. He did more; he

he enforced the good execution of those laws. This was a task of no small difficulty, and which required the activity, the spirit, the resolution, and that fervour of zeal for the service of the publick, with which his mind was endued. The *manners* of the nation were to be changed. During the reign of his predecessor the law had been an empty name. Even where violence did not absolutely controul it, the partiality of party and the iniquity of the times corrupted the whole administration of justice. Appeals to the crown, the constitutional and necessary resource of the people against the too frequent injustice of the nobles, had lost their force. The king had not power to give the suitors the relief they demanded. Matilda's friends denied his authority, and against his own adherents he durst not exert it, lest it should provoke them to leave him. Nor were the lives of his subjects more secure than their properties. The sword of every ruffian was stronger than that of the magistrate, and the most notorious criminals found, not only protection, but reward and advancement, if to their private enormities they joined a remorseless and daring alacrity in carrying on the horrors of civil war. Upon the agreement between the chiefs of the two contending factions some check was given to these disorders: but the habits of licentiousness had gained too much strength to be quickly overcome. Henry applied his utmost

Book II.

V. Neubrig.
l. ii. c. i.
Diceto sub
ann. 1554.
Brompton sub
ann. 1555
Petri Blesensis
epist. 66. ad
Gualter.
episcop. Pa-
normit. in
Appendice.

V. Petrum
Blesens. ut
supra.

most endeavours to subdue them, and to accomplish the heroical work of restoring the purity and vigour of justice, and settling good order, good morals, and good discipline again in his kingdom. He attended personally at the judgment of all greater causes in his own court, and made frequent progresses into the several counties, that he might the better discover and remedy all abuses in the rural jurisdictions, or in the behaviour of the judges whom he sent thither, as his delegates, to administer justice. *He did not* (says a writer, to whom he was personally and intimately known) *sit still in his palace, as most other kings do, but going over the provinces explored the actions of all his subjects, chiefly judging those whom he had appointed the judges of others.* A constant sense of the superintendence of the royal authority was thus kept up in the minds of his people; and the power of the crown, which they had been used to despise or hate, was made both respectable and amiable to them: the intermediate powers, established by the system of the feudal constitution, were duly controuled; and the disorder attending the abuse of those powers in the several parts of that system was prevented. The meanest peasant, who sued for justice against the highest nobleman, was favorably heard, and obtained from the king a speedy redress of his wrongs. Robbers and freebooters were put to death without mercy; and every

other

other breach of the peace was corrected by exemplary punishments; so that even the most profligate were awed and restrained. Public security being restored by this necessary rigour, and by the continued activity, vigilance, and firmness of the sovereign, in suppressing whatever had a tendency to produce intestine troubles, the farmer, and the husbandman, the merchant, and the manufacturer, returned to their occupations, the towns and villages were re peopled; agriculture and commerce revived and flourished, virtue and religion were encouraged and promoted. Such were the consequences of Henry's beneficent government; and thus he obtained the highest glory a king can obtain; that of having reformed a depraved and corrupted state.

In these affairs he was served ably (and to chuse able servants is the most necessary part of royal wisdom) by those whom he entrusted with the administration. They were all persons whom approved and eminent merit recommended to his favor. Robert de Bellomont earl of Leicester was grand justiciary, a post not usually filled, in that age, by a layman; or at least not by a layman, without some prelate being joined in commission with him: but Henry, who saw the clergy too powerful, did not think it adviseable to strengthen them still more, by such an addition of power as that office gave;

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gave; desiring rather to make the authority of it a curb to that of the church. He therefore joyned two laymen in the commission, the earl of Leicester and Richard de Lucy. The former was a person of great prudence, and yet of a resolute spirit, very proper to maintain the rights of the state against the attempts of the clergy and the pope; which he was the better enabled to perform, because his known piety and the regularity of his life set him above the imputation of irreligion, usually thrown in that age upon any of the laity who dared to resist the usurpations of Rome.

His colleague was a gentleman of considerable rank, and one who had distinguished himself as a soldier, but joined to his valour, and military abilities, the knowledge of a lawyer and talents of a statesman. In choosing him to share this office Henry gave a new proof of his not being influenced by the spirit of party, and of having entirely banished those resentments, which a narrow mind, or a bad heart, would have retained and indulged. For Richard de Lucy had been highly in favor with Stephen, nor had he ever betrayed him or deserted his service. A little before the agreement of that king with Henry we find him in arms against the latter: and by an article of that treaty the tower of London and Windsor castle were put into his custody; which must have been done

done at the desire of Stephen, because it appears that he gave no securities for his fidelity to *him* in that trust: whereas he was obliged to give his son to Henry, as a hostage for the delivery of those forts to that prince after the death of the king. But it is probable that Henry approved the choice made by Stephen, from the reputation of integrity which Richard de Lucy had gained: and that character, with the abilities he soon discovered in him on a nearer acquaintance, was now the cause of his advancement to this high dignity. His conduct in it justified the prudence of Henry. He was one of the faithfullest and best servants that any prince ever employed, useful in all business, and as fit to command an army, as to preside in a court of judicature, or a council of state.

The archbishop of Canterbury was treated by the king with great regard, and had a principal share in the administration of government, which he deserved by the services he had done that prince in affairs of the highest importance, and by the cordial affection which he bore to his person. He was a man whom experience and knowledge of business had made a minister of state rather than genius: having parts good enough to be esteemed, and not great enough to be feared, by his master. Yet, had he been of an enterprising temper, he would have given

Vol. II, X trouble

trouble to government: for whatever he undertook he pursued with an obstinate and undaunted resolution; as Stephen had found to his cost on some occasions. But, being now grown old and weary of faction, as well as disinclined to any quarrel with a sovereign whom he loved, he tried to keep the church and state as quiet as he could; which was all that Henry desired, till, by a continual and insupportable encrease of the evils arising from the unwarranted pretensions of the clergy, he was compelled, for the sake of civil society, to attempt a reformation of those abuses.

On the recommendation of the primate, Thomas Becket was raised to the office of Chancellor. This man, the most extraordinary of the age he lived in, and from the singularity of his character (to which there are few parallels in the history of mankind) deserving the notice of all ages, was born at London, in the year eleven hundred and seventeen. His father and ancestors (as he says himself in one of his epistles) *were citizens there, who had lived contentedly and quietly among their fellow citizens, and were not the lowest among them.* It seems that his education was intended to qualify him for the church. We are told, that, during his childhood, his father put him to school in Merton abbey; and, when he had attained to manhood, sent him to finish his studies at Paris. After some time, he returned from thence

Epist. 108.
l. 1. Braxell.
edition.

Quadrilogus
sive Historia
Quadripa-
ta. Vit. et
proc. S. Tho-
mæ Cantuar.

thence to London, was employed as a clerk in the sheriff's office there, and then introduced to the archbishop of Canterbury, who finding him a youth of uncommon parts, and being captivated with his graceful and winning address, gave him the livings of St. Mary le Strand and Otteford in Kent, and obtained for him two prebends in the cathedrals of London and Lincoln. These benefices he, probably, held by the pope's dispensation; (for he was yet only in deacon's orders) and desiring to qualify himself for greater preferments prevailed on his patron to send him to Bologna, the most famous university then in the world, especially for the study of the canon and civil laws, which of all sciences was most likely to procure his advancement, either in the church, or the state. After residing there a year, he went to Auxerre in Burgundy, where those laws were also taught; and returned into England no mean proficient in them, but with still superior talents for negotiation; which the archbishop discovering, he dispatched him soon afterwards as his agent to the pope, on a point he thought of great moment, namely, to get the legatine power restored to the see of Canterbury. This commission was performed with such dexterity and success, that the archbishop entrusted to him all his most secret intrigues with the court of Rome, and particularly a matter of the highest importance to England, the soliciting from the pope those prohibitory let-

Book II.
Mar. &c. edit.
Paris. ann.
1493.

Quadrilogus;
Gerv. act.
Pontif. Can-
tuar. de The-
obaldo et S.
Thoma.

Vit. et proc.
S. Thoma, et
supra.

Book II.

Gerv. pt. su-
pra.

ters against the crowning of prince Eustace; by which that design was defeated. There was great difficulty in conducting this business: for, though Eugenius the Third, who then held the pontificate, had quarrelled with Stephen, yet as the election of that monarch had been ratified by the papal authority, it was very prejudicial to the honor of Rome, that he should be declared by the same authority, a perjured usurper. Nor, indeed, was it the interest of that see to co-operate in supporting the pretensions of Henry Plantagenet, against the son of Stephen, if it desired to maintain the encroachments it had made, upon the rights of the English monarch, during the reign of his father. And therefore (as we are informed by an anecdote preserved to us in a letter of Becket) one of the cardinals, who favored Eustace, told the pope on this occasion, that *it would be easier to hold a ram by the horns than a lion by the tail*. The strength and power of Eustace, whose foreign dominions were but small, compared with those of Henry, certainly could not be so hard to contend with, nor was it probable, that his authority in the kingdom of England would be so firmly and securely established as Henry's, if the latter should recover the crown of his ancestors. This was a consideration which it behoved the court of Rome to regard with great attention, before they took any measures to oppose the succession of Eustace, especially

as

Epist. 14. l. iv.

as there was no reason to believe, that the principles and maxims of government infused into Henry would incline him to acquiesce in their usurpations. For Becket himself observes, in the above-cited letter, that, when he came to the crown, *he opposed the liberty of the church, by a kind of hereditary right*; his father having resisted it, in several instances, with remarkable spirit. Eustace then might justly hope, that he should be favored by the policy of the Vatican; and there was the less probability that Eugenius could be brought to act against him, as Stephen in that conjuncture, had a minister at Rome, who had much influence over the mind of that pontiff, namely, Henry de Murdac; to whom Eugenius himself had given the see of York (as I have before related) and whom Stephen, who had long refused to acknowledge him, had now received, in hopes of obtaining a papal bull for the coronation of his son. But the implacable hatred of the pope against him, and Becket's great abilities in negotiation, overcame all the weighty arguments and powerful interest on the side of that prince: which happy success, in an affair of such consequence and so much difficulty, gave Becket a merit, not only to the prelate by whom he was employed, but also to Henry, which was the first foundation of his high fortune. At his return into England, the archbishop conferred upon him several new favors, making him provost of Beverley and dean

Gerv. ut. supra, et in Chron. sub. ann. 1152.

Book II.

Fitz-Stephen
in vit. Becket.V. Malmsh.
f. 59. l. iii.
sect. 50. de
Will. I.

dean of Hastings, which benefices he held together with the former; and just before the death of Stephen the archdeaconry of Canterbury was likewise given to him by the same prelate. But these were only the beginnings of his advancement. For, immediately after Henry's accession to the throne, he was made the king's chancellor, at the request of his patron, who thought no dignity or trust above his merit. Nor, in doing this, did Henry please the archbishop alone. Becket's promotion must have been extremely agreeable to the English; as he was the first of that nation, since the latter years of the reign of William the Conqueror, on whom any great office, either in the church or state, had been conferred by the kings of Norman race; the exclusion of them from all dignities being a maxim of policy, delivered down by that monarch to his sons, and founded (as we are told by William of Malmshbury) on the alarming example of what had befallen the Danes in England, after the decease of Canute the Great. For the English having been suffered, by the indulgence of Canute, to retain under him a large share of honors and power, the consequence was, that they soon recovered the government, and drove out the foreigners. Whether the expulsion of the latter was really owing to the cause here assigned, or to their own provoking insolence, may well be disputed: but this opinion, unquestionably, prevailed too much in the minds of

of the Normans, and continued too long. Even Henry the First, who courted the affection of the English, as the chief strength of his throne, and in other respects was kind to them, adhered to this maxim, more perhaps, from an apprehension of offending the Normans, than any jealousy in himself. Stephen and Matilda seem also to have acted on the same principle: so that this dishonorable mark of humiliation and inequality remained fixed on that people, till the auspicious reign of Henry Plantagenet. He was the first who took it off: and certainly this deserves to be celebrated among the most memorable and most laudable acts of his life; being that which removed all appearance of *a conquest*, and entirely completed the incorporating union between the two nations, which his royal grandfather had formed, but had not brought to full perfection. He might, possibly, be more inclined to favor the English, as, by his grandmother, he descended from the Anglo-Saxon kings: but one may better ascribe the kindness he shewed them to large and generous notions of policy, which made him desire to widen the foundations, on which the government of England had stood for some time: foundations too narrow for the superstructure of glory and publick good, which his noble ambition and extensive benevolence aspired to raise. The work, indeed, was to him less difficult than it would have been to his grandfather: for England

Book II.

V. Ailredus
Abb. Riv. de
Vit. & Mirac.
Edward Conf.
p. 491. n. 40.

had now, (as a contemporary author tells us) *not only a king, but many bishops and abbots, many great earls and noble knights, who, being descended both from the Norman and English blood, were an honor to the one and a comfort to the other.* This happy effect of the inter-marriages between the two nations naturally lessened the jealousy, which, for almost a century, had been so strong in the Normans. But a prince of narrow soul would not have seen the practicability, or comprehended the utility of departing from the maxim his predecessors had adhered to: and it would have been singly sufficient to illustrate the reign of Henry the Second, that, by putting an end to this distinction, as well as to that which the fury of civil discord had lately produced, he opened the temple of Honor to all merit, called forth every virtue, and every talent into the service of the publick, and made himself the common father of his own people.

See Dugdale's
Origines Juri-
diciales, &
Madox's Hist.
of the Excheq.
§. 2. p. 42, 43.

The chancellor of England, at this time, had no distinct court of judicature, in which he presided; but he acted together with the justiciary and other great officers in matters of the revenue, at the exchequer, and sometimes in the counties, upon circuits. The great seal being in his custody, he supervised and sealed the writs and precepts, that issued in proceedings pending in the king's court, and in the exchequer. He also supervised all charters, which were to be sealed with that seal.

feal. Mr. Madox observes, that he was usually a bishop or prelate, because he was looked upon *as chief of the king's chapel*, which was under his special care. In the council his rank was very high. It seems that he had the principal direction and conduct of all foreign affairs, performing most of that business which is now done by the secretaries of state. Such was the office to which Becket was raised: but the favor of his master made him greater than even the power of that office, great as it was in itself.

The bishop of Winchester, who had hoped to govern the kingdom, had no share in the ministry, or none that went beyond the appearance and form of being called to a council, where his opinion was hardly ever followed, but when it might help to confirm and authorize that of others, who had the confidence of their master. Henry was too honest to love, too wise to trust him, and too strong in the esteem and affection of the publick to fear his resentment. Disgusted at this neglect, and imagining, perhaps, that by intriguing with the pope, or the king of France, against Henry, he might be able to revenge himself more effectually on the latter, and with greater safety to himself, than by remaining in England, he privately sent his treasures out of the realm, and then left it himself, without the permission of his sovereign, who immediately gave orders,

ders, that all the six castles belonging to him in England should be demolished.—The blow was decisive—It broke at once all his military power in this kingdom: it shewed a boldness and a vigour in the government, which deterred even the clergy from espousing his quarrel; and as, abroad, he did not find the support he expected, he was compelled to submit, and sue for leave to return to his bishoprick; which Henry, who had sufficiently punished and humbled him, was willing to grant, but confined him to his bare episcopal duties. In this retirement, so very unsuitable to his temper, he pined some years, unattended to, and almost forgotten by the publick; after having made and unmade kings, and governed with more than regal power! Nor can there be a greater proof of the strength of the crown and the wisdom of the king, than that so crafty and bold a man, so skilful in courts, so versed in faction, could neither work himself into the government, nor make it uneasy!

Peace and obedience being thus established in England, Henry had leisure to attend to his foreign affairs. His first business was, to do his homage to Louis, for the many fiefs he held of the crown of France. This ceremony was necessary at the end of a war, in which a vassal had fought against his sovereign; the feudal connection between them having been broken: and therefore it ought to

to have been paid by Henry, upon the conclusion of the peace, the year before. But his sickness, which came upon him immediately afterwards, and some affairs of importance retarded it till Stephen died; and then he was forced, as soon as the commotions in Normandy, and the wind and sea would permit, to hasten to England. During his stay in this island, to prevent the king of France from taking any umbrage at this neglect, or, rather, because he was sensible that some had been taken, he wrote to that monarch, and assured him of his willingness to pay the same homage which he had paid him before, for all the dominions which he held of his crown, on condition of such a reciprocal engagement from him, as the duty of a feudal lord to his vassal required. It was the more necessary, at this time, that such an assurance should be given, because, Henry the First having disputed the nature of the homage, which was due to the crown of France from the duchy of Normandy, and having refused to pay it in the usual manner, it might be apprehended, that his grandson, being now king of England, would make the same difficulty, tho' he had submitted to it before his elevation to that rank. But he avoided any occasion of a quarrel with Louis, especially one not well grounded; and declared, in the same letter, that *out of obedience, respect, and affection to that prince*, he would conclude a peace with the earl of Blois, by re-

V. Duchesne.
t. iv. epist.
diversor. de
Reb. Franc.
epist. 58.

Book II.

referring their differences to an amicable arbitration. Thus he kept every thing quiet in France, till he had leisure to go thither, which he did very early in the year eleven hundred and fifty-six. He then performed his homage to Louis for Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. That monarch had reason (as a French historian well observes) *to tremble when he received it!* The conjunction of so many and such great feudal territories, under one vassal, had never happened before in the French monarchy; and gave no small alarm to France; as the person in whom they were united was also king of England. If Louis had taken all occasions to diminish this formidable power, he would have acted with prudence: but he neglected a good one, which presented itself to him soon after this time.

Gerv. Chron.
et Diceto, sub
ann. 1156.
Hoveden sub
ann. 1155.
P. Daniel H
de France,
subann. 1156.

V. Neubrig.
l. ii. c. 7.

It has, before, been told, how Henry Plantagenet had very unwillingly been compelled, at the death of his father, and before the body of that prince was buried, to swear that he would perform every article of his will. Agreeably to that oath, he should, after he had gained possession of England, have resigned the earldoms of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, to Geoffry, his younger brother. But, as soon as he was crowned, he applied to Rome for relief from the obligation of this oath: representing to the pope that he had taken it by constraint, and in absolute

Chron. Norm.
subann. 1145.
Gerv. Chron.
et Diceto,
Imag. hist.
subann. 1156.
Brompt. Chr.
p. 1048.

solute ignorance of what his father's will contained, which he objected to, in this particular, as being unjust; because, against the clearest principles of natural right, without his having committed any fault or offence, it deprived him of his whole paternal inheritance.

The Roman see, since first it assumed an authority of dispensing with oaths, has very seldom refused, upon proper application, to reconcile the religion and conscience of a prince, with his interests, or his passions; unless when another prince, of greater power, or more a friend to the interests of the papacy, has opposed the request. Henry was a great king: his brother was a subject who had no weight in the balance of power in Europe; which was usually examined by the casuists of the Vatican with much more attention, than the niceties of the case referred to their judgement. It is not very certain whether Anastasius the Fourth, or Adrian the Fourth, was then Pontiff: but either of them was in circumstances to render him very desirous of Henry's friendship. And, as there was really something hard in the case of that prince, the dispensing power of Rome, was plausibly, as well as usefully, exercised, in his behalf, on this occasion. Being thus released from his oath, he paid no regard, either to the will of his father, or the complaints of his brother. It could not indeed be expected that he should, after

Geoffrey

Geoffry had openly joined with his enemies to seize those dominions by force of arms, when he had no title to them, even allowing the will to be obligatory upon Henry; as it was done before that prince had possession of England. Considering the time when he entered into that league, and the whole purport of it, one cannot be much surprised, that the affection of Henry should be cooled towards a brother, who had so unnaturally covenanted his utter destruction. But tho' Geoffry had abundant cause to be very well satisfied with having been pardoned a treason of so heinous a nature, he would neither relinquish his pretensions to the earldoms, nor receive some compensations, offered to him by Henry, whom he went to visit at Rouen, together with his uncle and aunt, the count and countess of Flanders, soon after the return of that king into Normandy from his late interview with Louis, which seems to have been held in the French Venise. What these compensations were history does not inform us: but we are told that he departed in great discontent, and going to his castles infested from thence the whole country round about them. As there was in all the three earldoms no small number of the nobility and principal gentry, who wished rather to be governed by a prince of their own, residing constantly among them, and one whose power they did not fear, than by an absent and potent monarch, Geoffry might have excited a dangerous

dangerous revolt in those parts, if Henry, whose vigilance was never surprised, had not, immediately upon his departure, assembled an army, with which he marched to oppose him, and having divided them into two bodies laid siege at the same time to two of his castles, Mirebeau in Anjou, and Chinon in Touraine. Nature and art had united in fortifying the latter: but nothing could then resist the force of Henry's arms. Both castles were taken; and the rebel prince was compelled, with equal sorrow and shame, once more to have recourse to the clemency of his brother, which ingratitude itself could not weary out. Upon his surrendering the castle of Loudon, his only remaining fortress, Henry settled on him a pension of a thousand pounds of English money and two thousand Angevin; and left him the lands belonging to his castles, but levelled these to the ground; thus, at once, giving him a maintenance, not unsuitable to his rank, and taking from him the means of raising new disturbances. The above-mentioned sum was equal to an income of twenty two thousand five hundred pounds of our money in these days, besides the revenues arising from his lands: and it would have been well if provisions of the same nature had always been made for the younger brothers of kings or princes, instead of appenages, which gave them the possession of fortresses, by which their ambition was often tempted to carry them into faction and civil war.

See the note, on the value of money at the end of the third volume.

war. Nevertheless it is certain, that, by all the rules of good policy, the king of France should have supported Geoffry's claim, and given him the investiture of the three earldoms; in order to separate those dominions from Normandy and Aquitaine, and thereby lessen the power of Henry in that kingdom; but he overlooked this great interest; or thought, that having so lately received homage from him for all his territories in France, including the three earldoms, he could not, at this time, dispute his title to them; especially, as it was strengthened by the authority of the pope, to which he paid, on all occasions, an implicit respect. This acquiescence on his part was of much advantage to Henry; who also found his account in the advances he had made, not long before, towards a peace with the earl of Blois, which tied the hands of that prince, and prevented his giving any assistance to Geoffry. Indeed, it evidently appears, by the acts of a council, which Louis held this year at Soissons, that the settling a general peace in the kingdom of France, and restoring agriculture, commerce, and other fruits of tranquility, was the object that the king, and all his principal feudatories, had most at heart: of which disposition Henry availed himself in this conjuncture. As to the justice, or moral rectitude, of his proceedings with Geoffry, which some historians have condemned with most severe reproaches, he would certainly have been

V. Duchesne,
t. iv. epist.
diversor. de
Reb. Franc.
epist. 37. 59.
& P. Daniel,
sub ann. 1155.

been a more pious son, if he had not disputed his father's will: but whether that will was equitable in itself, or whether his brother deserved from him more kindness than he met with, may well be questioned.

England seems not to have taken any part in this war: but Henry was attended, throughout the whole expedition, by his chancellor, Becket. This minister was now become his chief favorite, and made a very immoderate use of his favor. Employments and trusts of all kinds were heaped upon him, without measure or propriety. Besides the office of chancellor and a scandalous number of ecclesiastical benefices, he had royal castles and forts committed to his custody, the temporalities of vacant prelacies, and the escheats of great baronies belonging to the crown. The revenues of these he made use of, with the same freedom, as if they had been his own rents; perhaps, for the general service of his master, but without keeping any regular or strict account, and certainly with great appearance of a most extravagant prodigality and ostentation in himself: so unlimited was the confidence that Henry placed in him! Indeed he seemed almost to share the throne with his sovereign. And it must be confessed, that, if such a participation of the royal authority could have been justified by the accomplishments and talents of a minister, it would be his. For he possessed all the qualities that could most powerfully en-

Gerv. Chron.
sub ann. 1155.
et in act. Pon-
tif. Cantuar.
de S. Thoma,
Brompton
Chron.
p. 1058.
Heribert. de
Boseham et
Fitz Stephen
in vita Becket.

V. Epist. S.
Thomæ, l. ii.
epist. 6, 33.

V. Auctores
citatos ut
supra.

gaged the affections of a prince, who had a judgment capable of discerning and a heart formed to love extraordinary merit, but a temper that required some delicacy of address in those who approached him very nearly, and that yielded most to those friends, whose character appeared most to sympathise with his own. The person of Becket was graceful and his countenance pleasing: his wit was lively and facetious, his judgement acute, his eloquence flowing and sweet, his memory vast and ready on all occasions. The time he had passed in that school of the most exquisite policy, the court of Rome, had greatly improved and refined his understanding. Nor was his capacity limited to the sphere of business. He made himself a perpetual companion to the king in most of his pleasures, and fell in with all his tastes so easily and so naturally, that in paying his court he seemed only to indulge his own inclinations. There was a certain inexpressible grace in his manners, given by nature, but helped by art, which rendered his virtues more amiable, and even his vices agreeable. Thus his profuseness and ostentation appeared like generosity and greatness of spirit. Nor was he indeed devoid of these good qualities; but he carried them beyond their proper bounds. His expence was enormous, and Henry would have been jealous of it, as intended to acquire too much popularity, if he had not been persuaded by the address of Becket, that all his magnificence, in

in which the son of a private citizen surpassed even the greatest and most opulent earls, was only designed to do honor to his bountiful master, whose creature he was, and upon whom his whole fortune must absolutely depend. Yet, amidst the luxury in which he lived for several years, and all the temptations of a court where gallantry reigned, he was (if we may believe the writers of his life) constantly temperate and invincibly chaste.

Henry, being now triumphant in Anjou, obliged all the nobility of Gascony and Guienne to give him hostages for their future fidelity. On what occasion he did so we are not told: but he had, doubtless, some extraordinary cause to suspect them; perhaps a discovery of their having secretly intrigued with his brother; which conspiracy might be prevented from taking effect, by the vigilance of his government and the terror of his arms. For it is not very probable, that Geoffry would have dared so inconsiderately to draw those arms on himself, if he had not relied on some aid; and the barons of Aquitaine, having been long weakly governed by Henry's predecessors, were impatient of restraint, and prone to rebellion. But, whatever might be the motives, on which Henry thought it necessary to take this precaution, it answered his purpose so well, that, for many years afterwards, it kept those provinces in peace and obedience to his government.

Gerv. Chron.
et Diceto, sub
ann. 1157.
Chron. Norm.
p. 993.
Neubrigenfis,
l. ii. c. 4.
Annal. Wav.
subann. 1157.

Fortune was so favorable to him at this time, that every accident added to his strength. It happened that the count and countess of Flanders engaged themselves by a vow to go this year, on a pilgrimage, to Jerusalem. They thought that they could not find so fit a guardian, in their absence, for their eldest son Philip, who was yet an infant, or so respectable a protector for their dominions, as Henry their near kinsman, and faithful friend. To him therefore they committed the care of their son, and the regency of Flanders, till they should return from the east: and the young prince having espoused the heiress of Vermandois, that province also was put under his government. This was a great augmentation of his power on the continent; and might well have added to the jealousy of the French court: but he used his utmost art to quiet their apprehensions; being never so careful to pay the king of France the respects of a vassal and the regards of an ally, as when he had made, or was endeavouring to make, some acquisition, which might naturally give umbrage to him and his kingdom. The affairs of Flanders were settled, with great attention and great wisdom, by their new governor; and after he had established such order and harmony in all his territories abroad, that he brought them to compose one political system, as if they had been a single state, he returned into England,

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in the spring of the year eleven hundred and fifty seven. To re-annex to that kingdom all the provinces it had lost to the Scotch and Welsh, under the late unhappy reign, was now the principal object of his desires, and the general wish of his people.

In what manner his great uncle, David, king of Scotland, had gained possession of the three northern counties, and had brought him to take an oath, that he would not resume them, in case he should recover the throne of his ancestors, has been already related, in the preceding book. The title of that king, or of his son, to these provinces, even as fiefs to be held of England, under homage and fealty, had been always very doubtful. By what right either of them laid claim to Westmoreland, I cannot discover. And out of the grant which Stephen had made of Northumberland, Newcastle and Bamburg had been expressly reserved. But David had seized upon more than he had a right to, from the terms of that compact, under the pretence of holding those provinces for Matilda and her son; instead of which he retained and left them to his own grandson, as parts of the kingdom of Scotland, separated from England, and not even tied to it by any obligation of feudal obedience. It could not appear to the English in any other light, than as an acquisition the Scotch had made, by taking advantage of the weakness of England,

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land, and distress of the royal family in a time of civil war; and Henry's council supposed, that he might with equal policy, and with more justice, now take advantage of the weak state of Scotland, to recover to his crown it's antient rights and possessions. His former obligations to the Scotch royal family for their having assisted his mother, and conferred upon himself the honor of knighthood, could be no sufficient argument, for suffering territories of so much value and importance to be lost to his kingdom; it not being permitted to a king to be grateful at the expence of his people. He therefore judged it necessary, to regain the three counties, and thought the time so favorable for such a demand, that it ought not to be neglected. The oath he had taken was the sole impediment which stood in his way: but against this he might plead, that it had been imposed upon him, when his tender age, and inexperience in matters of government, were strong objections against the validity of it; especially, as the alienation of these dominions had not been agreed to by the estates of the kingdom, whose consent, in all monarchies not entirely despotic, is necessary to confirm an act of this nature. He might also alledge, that the only consideration, upon which he could be supposed to have taken such an oath without fraud, or force, was the efficacious assistance, which David had engaged to give him in England, by making an offensive war
against

against Stephen: but as that engagement was not kept, he was consequently freed from his part of the compact. These reasons appeared so weighty, and made his conscience so easy, that he did not even apply to the papal authority for relief in this case; but, supposing that his oath was void in itself, sent to demand the immediate restitution of the three counties. His ambassadors were ordered to say, *that their master, the king of England, ought not to be defrauded of so considerable a part of his kingdom; nor could he patiently see it thus dismembered: and justice required, that territories gained by the Scotch in his name should be restored to him.* Upon receiving this message, Malcolm, who was then but in his seventeenth year, or rather the lords of his council, by whose advice he was governed, thought it necessary to make the restitution demanded; *prudently considering* (says William of Newbury, a good contemporary historian) *that, with regard to this point, the king of England was no less strong in the merits of his cause than in the greatness of his power.* But although they had not been so absolutely convinced of the justice of his claim, as that writer supposes; his power was, undoubtedly, so formidable to them, and the state of their government so infirm, that prudence required them to make this sacrifice of contested acquisitions, rather than run the hazard of a war, which might ruin their country. And Malcolm might the more easily give up

Vid. Neubrig.
ut supra.

Neubrigenfis,
l. i. c. 23.

Northumberland, because, when David, his grandfather, declared him successor in the kingdom of Scotland, he assigned that province to William, his younger brother.

But Henry was not satisfied with having regained the three counties. He likewise insisted, and not without an ancient claim, that Malcolm should acknowledge himself his vassal for Lothian. This earldom, in which all the eastern parts of Scotland, between the Tweed and Firth of Forth, were then comprehended, had been granted by Edgar, one of the greatest Saxon kings, to Kenneth the Third, under condition of homage; and it does not appear that the vassalage had been ever released, to him or his successors, by any other king of England. Malcolm therefore was advised by his council to agree to this demand likewise; and the English monarch conferred on him the earldom of Huntingdon, against the claim of the of Northampton, to whose father it had been given by Stephen, on the death of Henry prince of Scotland. Probably, this was done on the foundation of the grant made to David, Malcolm's grandfather, by Henry the First: and unless the right of the other family to the earldom of Huntingdon had been so evidently certain in justice and law, as not to admit of any latitude in the disposal thereof by the power of the crown, policy required, that, in this instance, some favor should be shewn to the Scotch king in return for the important

V. Diceto
Imagin. hist.
et Annal. Waver-
lenses, sub
ann. 1157.

Chron. Norm.
p. 993.
Chron. Johan.
de Waling-
ford. p. 545.
M. Westmo-
nast. p. 193.

See Dugdale's
Baronage, earl
of Northamp-
ton.

tant concessions, which he had made to England.

These northern affairs being thus settled, Henry now turned his thoughts, and not without some inquietude, to the great and dangerous war he intended to make against the Welsh.

As I have not hitherto, during the course of this work, given any distinct account of that ancient people, I shall now sketch out the most important outlines of their history, down to the times of which I write, partly from the Welsh chronicle of Caradoc of Llancarvon, which among them is of the greatest authority; and partly from our own writers. In doing this I shall supply some material omissions, which I designedly left in the preceding history of the four first Norman kings; because I thought it would be better, that their transactions with the Welsh, which were not absolutely connected with other matters there related, should be shewn together with the general view of that nation, presented here.

How bravely and obstinately the Silures, Demete, and Ordovices, who first inhabited that part of Great Britain which has since been called Wales, resisted the all-conquering power of Rome, the Roman historians themselves declare, When that nation had
entirely

entirely relinquished this island, about the year four hundred and forty eight, these valiant people, assisted by the natural strength of their country, and augmented by great numbers who fled to them for safety from the invasions of the Scotch, the Picts, and the Saxons, preserved themselves free under their own form of government, their own laws, and their own princes, while all the rest of South-Britain was over-run and subdued by foreign arms.

The name of Welsh was given to them first by the Saxons, and is derived from a contraction of Gwallish, or Gaulish, denoting their origin from the Gauls: but they call themselves Cumri, of which the Latin name, Cimbri, given to a Celtic nation of Germany, was probably a corruption. Wales was bounded at first by the Irish seas and the rivers Severne and Dee. But, towards the end of the eighth century, the Welsh were driven out of all the level country, situated between the Severne and Wye, by Offa the Great, king of Mercia, who planted there English colonies, and made the celebrated dike, still called by his name, which extended, from north to south, about ninety miles, running along the sides and bottoms of the hills, from the mouth of the river Dee to that of the Wye near Chepstow. It is thought to have been an imitation of the ramparts thrown up by Agricola, Adrian,
and

Dr. Powell's
Welsh Chron.
p. 19, 20.
Camden's
Britan. Rad-
norshire.

and Severus, to guard the Roman province against the incursions of the northern Barbarians: but, from some remains of it, which are still to be seen, and for several other reasons, I should judge that it was rather intended for a boundary, to separate the territories of the English from those of the Welsh, than to protect the former, as a fortification. Whatever the intent of so vast a work may have been, the labour and charge were greater than the benefit. For, soon after Offa's death, the Welsh again extended their dominions beyond that dike, forcing their way, like a rapid torrent, which descends from the mountains and overflows the plain country. Their limits, from that time, were very uncertain; being often advanced, or set back, as the fortune of war happened to change, in favor of them, or of the Saxons. In the ninth century, Egbert, supreme monarch of England, won from them Chester, which had been the capital seat of the former kings of North-Wales. From this city his successors infested that kingdom with perpetual inroads; and the Welsh in return made incursions, with great fury, into the counties of England that bordered upon them: each nation keeping up an implacable hatred against the other, and adding the remembrance of ancient animosities to every new quarrel. The Saxon chronicle tells us, that Ethelwolf, son to Egbert, subdued the people of North-Wales.

V. Chron.
Sax. p. 75.
sub ann. 853.

Wales. It also appears, from Affer's history of King Alfred the Great, that some of the Welsh princes were subject to his crown; and the Welsh chronicle owns, that his grandson Athelstan entered Wales with a great army, which brought the kings of the country to pay him tribute, and acknowledge his sovereignty: but they did not continue very long in this state of subjection. Among the Saxon laws, published by Wilkins, we have a constitution agreed to by the legislatures of both nations, for securing the peace of the borders, which seems to put them upon a foot of independence and equality. It is supposed to have been made in the reign of Ethelred, who came to the crown in the year nine hundred and seventy eight; and before that time we find the Welsh often in arms on the borders, and shewing little obedience or regard to the sovereignty of England.

In the year eight hundred and forty three all Wales was united under the dominion of Roderick, surnamed the Great; but in the year eight hundred and seventy six that prince again divided it, by a testamentary settlement, into three kingdoms, Guyneth, or North-Wales, Deheubarth, or South-Wales, and Mathraval, or Powis-land; which he severally left to his three sons, who were all crowned and called kings; but the two younger were subordinate to the eldest, who had North-Wales, and held his
royal

royal seat at Aberffraw in the isle of Anglesey, which was the Mona of the Britons.

The grandson of Roderick, Howel Dha, (in English Howell the Good) about the year nine hundred and forty, obtained the sole dominion of all the three kingdoms, and

Welsh Chron.
from p. 52 to
55.

made a reformation of their political, civil, and municipal laws, which were digested by him into three books. This code

V. Leges
Walliæ auct.
Gul. Wotton.
V. Prefation.
Gul. Clarke.

is still extant, and has been published in England with a Latin translation, but mixed with other institutions of a much later date, many of which are strictly feudal, and therefore must have been chiefly derived from the Normans. The entire agreement of others with the laws of the Saxons seems to indicate that they were occasionally borrowed from thence, and adopted by Howell: though the similar genius of the British Celts and the Germans may have also produced some resemblance and conformity in the more ancient customs of the two nations. Among

V. Leg. Walliæ, l. ii. l. 42,
58, 59. et
multas alias.

those that appear to be purely and originally British, one may discover a great deal of barbarism, and many things that required a further reformation. The best that can be said of the policy of the Welsh government, is, that there was in it no tincture of despotism. The nobles and clergy were consulted in all matters of state: the people were free, and seem to have assisted in the making of laws and other acts of great moment. They were oppressed by no taxes, nor

by

Book II.

V. Girald.
Cambrenf. de
Illaudabilibus
Wallia, c. 9.

by any toilsome work : and to this an ancient author, who was himself of that nation, ascribes their magnanimity and courage in war. *For nothing* (says he) *so raises and excites the minds of men to brave actions, as the cheerfulness of liberty: nothing, on the contrary, so dejects and dispirits them, as the oppression of servitude.* But, in truth, the Welsh were so far from submitting to *servitude*, that they could scarce endure *government*. Their liberty bordered too nearly upon anarchy, being rather that of a savage than a civilized people. The whole constitution was ill framed, either to polish their manners, or to secure the internal peace of the country; none under heaven having been ever more agitated with civil commotions; which were so frequent and violent in all parts of Wales, that very few of their princes died natural deaths: for either they were slain in wars with each other, or murdered by others of the same family, who, for want of a determined rule of succession, or by the power of factions, aspired to the government. One great cause of this evil was, that the old British custom of dividing the estate of the father, in equal shares, among the sons, bastards, as well as legitimate, extended, not only to private inheritances, but to the inferior chieftains, or princes in the several districts; and even to the royal families in all the three kingdoms; the eldest son having no more than a kind of titular

V. Dr. Powell's Welsh
Chron. p. 21,
58, 59, 60.
Girald. Cambrenf. de Illaudabilibus
Wallia, c. 9.

titular sovereignty over the younger: nor was that preference always given, but, sometimes all the sons of a dead monarch governed jointly, which produced the utmost confusion; and, in several instances, election, or force of arms, conferred the chief rule upon one of the younger sons, or perhaps, upon some other more distant kinsman.

What aggravated this mischief was another ancient custom, which prevailed among the chieftains and kings of Wales, of sending out their infant sons, to be nursed and bred up in different families of their principal nobles or gentry; from whence it ensued, that each of these foster-fathers, attaching himself with a strong, paternal affection, to the child he had reared, and being incited by his own interest to desire his advancement above his brothers, endeavoured to procure it by all the means in his power. Thus, as most of their kings cohabited with several women, who generally brought them many children, several parties were formed among their nobility; which breaking out at their deaths involved their several kingdoms in blood and confusion. Minors were never allowed to reign: but it often happened, that, when a prince, excluded in his infancy, attained to manhood, he then aspired to the throne, which, on account of his nonage, he had formerly lost, and found a party to assist him in those pretensions. Thus, after the decease of Howell Dha, the

V. Welsh Chron. from p. 51 to p. 54, and from p. 58 to 63. See also p. 21. and Girald. Camb. de Illaudabilibus Wallia, c. 4. 9.

kingdoms of Wales were again divided into different portions, and perpetually harrassed with different claims. They were indeed re-united under Meredyth, Howell's grandson; but his reign was unfortunate and of short continuance: for he was so infested with the pyratykal descents of the Danes, that, after St. David's, and other places upon the coasts of South-Wales, had been destroyed by their ravages, he was forced to deliver himself from them, by a composition of the same nature with the first *Danegeld* of the Saxons, viz. to pay them a capitation, at the rate of a penny for every man in that kingdom. This only allured their countrymen to other invasions, with less fear of resistance and more assurance of gain. While Meredyth's arms were employed in a civil war with the son of his elder brother Eneon, who laid claim to South-Wales, the Northern corsairs landed in Anglesey, and desolated the whole island. As publick misfortunes are always charged to the fault of the government, the people of North-Wales revolted, and chose another king. Great disorders ensued; till the unhappy Meredyth dying, without issue male, in the year nine hundred and ninety eight, Lhewelyn ap Sitsylth, who had married his daughter, succeeded to him in South-Wales, and soon obtained, by force of arms, the two other kingdoms. The Welsh chronicle, to express the felicity of his reign, says, *that,*

in

Welsh Chron.
from p. 73 to
91.

in his time, the earth brought forth double to what it produced in the times before past: the people prospered in all their affairs, and multiplied wonderfully; the cattle increased in great numbers; so that there was not a poor man in Wales, from the south to the north sea; but every man had plenty, every house a dweller, and every town inhabitants. Yet he was not exempt from the usual destiny of the other Welsh kings. The sons of Edwin ap Eneon rebelled against him and slew him: but Gryffyth, his son, revenged his death; drove Howell, the son of Edwin, out of South-Wales; and killed in battle another prince, who had lately obtained the sovereignty of North-Wales, not without a good title, if any title but force of arms could have availed in that nation.

Gryffyth was the first, and, I believe, the only Welsh king, that ever had a navy; a few ships of war having been built for his service in some foreign country, and manned

V. Flor. Wig.
et S. Dunelm.
sub ann. 1063,
1064.

with foreign sailors. He could not be furnished with either among his own subjects: for Giraldus Cambrensis informs us, that the Welsh had no ships, but such as were used by the Britons, their ancestors; small wicker boats, that were covered with hides, and had neither oars nor sails. On what occasion this fleet, which was so great a novelty to his people, was provided by this prince, we are not told: but, I presume, he designed it to protect them from the ravages of the Danes

V. Girald.
Cambrenf.
Cambriæ de-
scriptio, c. 8.

Book II.
Welsh Chron.
ut supra.

and Norwegians. Howell having attempted, by the help of these and other foreigners, to regain from him South-Wales, was totally defeated in a pitched battle, and hardly escaped with his life. But an honorable death in the field would have saved him from a greater misfortune: for his wife, whom he had brought to be a witness of the triumph, which he confidently hoped to obtain over Gryffyth, was taken prisoner by that king; who, liking her beauty, kept her for his concubine. Nor does it appear, that he lost any reputation among his own people by so brutal a rape; the Welsh supposing, that whatever belonged to the conquered was a lawful prey to the conquerors, their wives themselves not excepted. The unfortunate husband, reinforced by another army of English and Danes, made a new effort not long afterwards, to recover the possession of his wife and kingdom; but was vanquished and slain in the contest. Other competitors arose against Gryffyth; for not even the greatest victories could give to these princes any security in their power: but he overcame all his adversaries by fair and open force in the field. Nor did he confine his valor within his own territories. In conjunction with Algar earl of Chester, who had been banished from England as a traitor, in the reign of Edward the confessor, he marched into Herefordshire, and wasted all that fertile country with fire and sword, to revenge the death of his brother,

V. Chron.
Sax. sub ann.
1055. p. 169.

V. Flor. Wi.
p. 623. 629.

ther Rhees, whose head had been brought to Edward, in pursuance of an order sent by that king, on account of the depredations which he had committed against the English on the borders. To stop these ravages, the earl of Hereford, who was nephew to Edward, advanced with an army, not of English alone, but of mercenary Normans and French, whom he had entertained in his service, against Gryffyth and Algar. He met them near Hereford, and offered them battle, which the Welsh monarch, who had won five pitched battles before, and never had fought without conquering, joyfully accepted. The earl had commanded his English forces to fight on horseback, in imitation of the Normans, against their usual custom: but the Welsh making a furious and terrible charge, that nobleman himself and the foreign cavalry, led by him, were so daunted at the view of them, that they shamefully fled without fighting; which being seen by the English, they also turned their backs on the enemy, who, having killed or wounded as many of them as they could come up with in their flight, entered triumphant into Hereford, spoiled and fired the city, razed the walls to the ground, slaughtered some of the citizens, led many of them captive, and (to use the words of the Welsh chronicle) *left nothing in the town but blood and ashes*. After this exploit, they immediately returned into Wales, undoubt-

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

edly from a desire of securing their prisoners, and the rich plunder they had gained. The king of England, hereupon, commanded Earl Harold to collect a great army from all parts of the kingdom, and assembling them at Gloucester, advanced from thence, to invade the dominions of Gryffyth in North-Wales. He performed his orders, and penetrated into that country, without resistance from the Welsh; Gryffyth and Algar retiring into some parts of South-Wales. What were their reasons for this conduct we are not well informed; nor why Harold did not pursue his advantage against them: but it appears that he thought it more adviseable, at this time, to treat with, than subdue, them; for he left North-Wales, and employed himself in rebuilding the walls of Hereford, while negotiations were carrying on with Gryffyth, which soon afterwards produced the restoration of Algar, and a peace with that king, not very honorable to England; as he made no satisfaction for the mischief he had done in the war, nor any submissions to Edward. Harold must, doubtless, have had some private and forcible motives to conclude such a treaty. The very next year, the Welsh monarch, upon what quarrel we know not, made a new incursion into England, and killed the bishop of Hereford; the sheriff of the county; and many more of the English, both ecclesiasticks and laymen. Edward was counselled by Harold and Leofrick earl of Mercia,

Fior. Wigorn.
p. 630. sub
ann. 1056.

Mercia to make peace with him again; which he again broke: nor could he be restrained by any means from these barbarous inroads, before the year one thousand and sixty-three; when Edward, whose patience and pacific disposition had been too much abused, commissioned Harold to assemble the whole strength of the kingdom, and make war upon him in his own country, till he had subdued or destroyed him. That general acted so vigorously, and with so much celerity, that he had like to have surprised him in his palace: but, just before the English forces arrived at his gate, having notice of the danger that threatened him, and seeing no other means of safety, he threw himself, with a few of his household, into one of his ships, which happened, at the instant, to be ready to sail; and put to sea. What country he retired to we are not informed: but, probably, he went into Ireland. Harold, vexed at his escape, set fire to his palace, and burned all his ships of war that remained in his harbour; after which, returning to Bristol, he there fitted out, with all possible expedition, a powerful fleet; with which he cruized along the coasts of North and South-Wales, preventing the importation of corn and other necessaries, which the Welsh had been accustomed to receive from abroad. While he was employed in this manner, a strong body of horse, under the conduct of Earl Tosti, his brother, had

Book II.
Welsh Chron.
p. 100, 101.
V. Chron.
Sax. Ingulph.
Flor. Wigorn.
et Chron.
Petroburgen.
sub ann. 1063.
1064, 1065.
Malmsh. de
Gest. R. A.
l. ii. c. 13.
Welsh Chron.
p. 101, 102.
Girald.
Camb. de
Mlaudabil.
Wallia, c. 7a
8.

marched

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

marched to a rendezvous, which he had appointed, in the maritime part of North-Wales. As soon as he had intelligence of their being arrived, he landed and joined them with his infantry, which he had embarked for that purpose; leaving none but the sailors and rowers aboard his fleet, which he ordered to cruize as before. The two brothers, after their junction, easily made themselves masters of all the flat country: but Harold, being sensible that heavy-armed soldiers were unfit for pursuing the light troops of the Welsh into their mountainous regions, provided his infantry with bucklers of hides, and other armor of a lighter sort than they usually wore. The greater part of his cavalry he left in the plains, under the command of his brother; and taking only a few of them, with some bands of foot heavy-armed, which he ordered to follow and support the light-armed forces, if they should be repulsed, he boldly advanced into countries, which no Saxon army ever had entered before; marching all the way on foot himself, and driving the enemy even from their inmost retreats, with a terrible slaughter, till they were compelled to sue for peace at the discretion of the conqueror. Proud of having surmounted the strong barriers which nature had opposed to his passage, and of having subdued this warlike people, he set up pillars of stone in several places to which he had carried his victorious arms; as trophies

phies and monuments of his fame to posterity. Giraldus Cambrensis assures us, that, in his time, they were still remaining there, with the following Latin inscription, resembling those of the Romans in simplicity and conciseness, engraved upon each of them, HIC FUIT VICTOR HARALDVS.

Probably, the Welsh would have better defended their country, if they had been under the conduct of Gryffyth, their sovereign: and, as in all his former life he had shewn so much courage, we may reasonably conclude, that he would not so shamefully have abandoned his people through the whole course of a war which he himself had brought upon them, if the English navy, which continually guarded the coast, had not prevented his return into any part of North-Wales. Certain it is, that he did not come back to them, till the latter end of summer in the following year, after they had been forced to submit to Harold; and then he found them so incensed at having been left by him in the time of danger, and so averse to any thoughts of renewing the war, that, instead of assembling themselves under his standard, as he urged them to do, they sent his head to Harold, together with the prow of the ship, or galley, in which he returned. The Welsh chronicle tells us, that they were instigated to this treason, by Blethyn and Rywallon, his mother's sons, whom Harold had made kings of North-

V. Flo. Wig.
et S. Dunelm.
ut supra.

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

Wales and Powis-land, as he had also given South-Wales to Meredyth, the eldest son of Owen, whose father Edwin had been expelled from that kingdom by Gryffyth. This valiant prince had ruled all Wales during four and thirty years, a very long reign for any king of that nation ! Those appointed by Harold were obliged to take an oath of fealty to Edward, and pay him the full tribute that ever had been paid to any of his predecessors. Thus, by the valour and good conduct of that earl was the sovereignty of England over the princes of Wales more completely established than it had ever been before. But he built no castles in the country, nor did he plant any colonies of English there, without which it was impossible, that the subjection of a people so used to arms, and so impatient of dishonor, could long continue. After his death they regained their independence: during which they were continually and most grievously disturbed with deadly feuds, till the year of our Lord one thousand and seventy eight, when Gryffyth ap Conan, and Rhees ap Tewdor, having united their arms, made themselves entire masters of North and South-Wales. The claim of these princes to those dominions was good ; Gryffyth being descended from the eldest son of King Roderick, and Rhees from the eldest son of Howell Dha : besides which they were valiant men, a qualification the Welsh regarded more than any other

Welsh Chron.
from p. 109
to 115.

other pretensions. Gryffyth, in gaining the sovereignty of North-Wales, was assisted by an army, which he procured from the king of Ulster, whose sister he had married, while he and his father Conan were exiles in Ireland. Upon this revolution, Powis-land, which after the death of Rywallon had been annexed to North-Wales, under the government of his brother, was shared between two sons of the latter, as it seems, by an agreement with Gryffyth ap Conan.

Such was the state of Wales in the year one thousand and seventy nine, when William the Conqueror, provoked by some incursions of the Welsh, and having established his dominion over the English, came to St. David's with a mighty army; and struck such a terror into all the princes of Wales, that, without resistance, they submitted to do him homage; he demanded no tribute from them; nor could they properly pay it when they became his vassals; the feudal laws exempting those who were admitted to homage from all such impositions. It does not appear, that any of them rebelled against him, or committed any depredations upon the borders of England so long as he lived. They also kept peace among themselves: but the very year that he died, the sons of Blethyn ap Convyn gathered together their forces against Rhees ap Tewdor; who was constrained to fly to Ireland, where he

Welsh Chron.
p. 115. sub
ann. 1079.
Huntingdon,
l. vii. f. 212.

he had potent alliances; and from whence he returned with an army, which, being joined by his friends, enabled him to recover the kingdom of South-Wales. Soon afterwards the earls of Hereford and of Shrewsbury, confederating themselves with the Welsh on their borders against William Rufus, ravaged the counties of Gloucester and of Worcester. Nor, when this insurrection was quelled in England, do we find that the Welsh submitted to the king, or that their princes acknowledged his sovereignty over them, either by doing homage to him, or paying tribute. But, in the fourth year of his reign, Jestyn, lord of Glamorganshire, which country his ancestors had governed for some ages under the kings of South-Wales, having been defeated in a rebellion against Rhees ap Tewdor, sent one of his gentlemen, who had served in the army of England, to solicit some of the lords and knights of that kingdom to come to his assistance, with tempting promises of rewards and emoluments from him. The proposal was agreeable to the spirit of the times. Robert Fitz-haimon, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber and great baron of the realm, undertook the adventure. Twelve knights, of considerable note and distinction, were retained in his service, or rather agreed to serve under him, with a large body of forces. They joined those of Glamorganshire, which were ready to receive them, and invaded

invaded the territories of Rhees ap Tewdor, who met them near Brecknock, and giving them battle was defeated by them, and slain in the action. He was the last of his nation who possessed the ancient kingdom of South-Wales entire: for after his death it was dismembered, and presently fell to decay. When Jestyn found himself conqueror (if we may believe the Welsh chronicle) he kept all his engagements with the Normans very faithfully, but broke his word with the Welsh gentleman, he had sent to them, and to whom he had promised to give his daughter in marriage, if he succeeded in his negotiation. This person, whose name was Encon, being frustrated of the reward he expected, and burning with resentment, followed the Normans, who were already embarked for England, and complaining to them most bitterly of his master's perfidiousness incited them to turn their arms against him. He assured them that they might easily conquer his country; as from his treason to Rhees, he would be deprived of all aid from the other princes of Wales. Upon which, partly out of their regard to the man, and partly being allured by the bait he proposed to them, they all returned with him, attacked the lord of Glamorganshire, defeated, and slew him. This is the account which is given by Caradoc of Lancarvon; but, according to another very authentic relation of this affair, Jestyn refused to per-

form

See the history of the winning of Glamorgan, in Dr. Powell's Welsh Chron. p. 124.

form the covenants he had made with the Normans, through the mediation of Encon, who therefore joined them against him. Certain it is that Fitz-haimon, by no other title than that of conquest, seized on Glamorganshire, and reserving to himself some principal parts, with the seignory of the whole, gave all the rest of that fair and fertile province to be held as fiefs under him, by the twelve knights who came with him, and some others who had assisted him, particularly Encon. The Welsh chronicle says,

Welsh Chron.
P. 121.

that these were the first strangers that ever inhabited Wales since the time of Camber. But

Ibidem, from
P. 150 to P.
P. 153.

soon afterwards Bernard de Neufmarché, another of the great Norman barons, conquered the province of Brecknock; and these examples exciting the ambition of their countrymen to like attempts, several of the nobility petitioned the king to grant them lands in Wales under homage and fealty, if, by their own arms, they could win them from the natives; which he did very willingly, as the best method of subduing that people without any charge or trouble to himself, and punishing their princes for having withdrawn that obedience, which they had sworn to the English crown in the reign of his father. Accordingly Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, did homage to him for Cardiganshire in South-Wales; and for all Powis-land, of which he afterwards subdued and settled some districts, particularly,

larly, the town and castle of Baldwyn. This important place, which commanded one of the finest parts of Wales, adjacent to England, he new-fortified; and called it after the name of his family, which it retains to this day. Arnulph, his younger son, obtained likewise, in South-Wales, the great lordship of Dyvet, named Pembrokehire, from the town and castle of Pembroke built by him there, in a fertile and open country. The earl of Chester, and two of the Mortimers, with many other Norman barons, who were seated in the bordering counties of England, became vassals to William Rufus for lands belonging to the Welsh in all their three kingdoms, which he disposed of, as forfeited to him by the natives, on account of their rebellion; but of which the several persons, on whom he bestowed them, were to obtain the possession at their own charges. Whatever conquests they made they endeavoured to secure, by immediately building strong castles, and, as far as they could, by settling in them colonies of Normans or English. Thus was this last asylum of the Britons broken into, by their enemies, on every side. But the spirit of the Welsh did not long remain patient under these usurpations. Gryffyth ap Conan, who then was king of North-Wales, and Cadogan ap Blethyn, who possessed as much of South-Wales as remained unconquered by the Normans, united against them; and having defeated them in two or

Welsh Chron.
p. 152 to 156.
Malmsh. de
W. II. f. 68.
70. l. iv.
Huntingdon,
l. vii. f. 216.
Hoveden,
par. I. f. 266,

three²⁶⁷.

three battles, destroyed all their castles, except those of Pembroke and Rydcors, and recovered almost all Dyvet, Powis-land, and South-Wales. Nor were they content with expelling these invaders, but carried their arms, with terrible ravages and devastations, into the borders of England, joining all the rage of a barbarous people to the resentment of freemen, who had lately shaken off the yoke of oppression. William Rufus, inflamed with great anger and disdain, that a nation, which had paid obedience to his father, should dare to attack and insult him in his own kingdom, raised a mighty army, and marched in person against them. At his approach they retired: he determined to follow them; and entering their country at Montgomery, stopped there awhile, till he had repaired in some degree the ruined fort: which being done, he tried to penetrate into the interior parts of North-Wales. But the Welsh so strongly guarded the defiles of the mountains, the woods, and the rivers, chusing their posts with great judgment, and cautiously avoiding to fight on the plains, that he made little progress. Great rains fell; his horses died; and his troops were so harassed with the many hardships they suffered, that he was obliged to return to England, and leave the war to be prosecuted by the lords of the marches. But although they exerted their utmost strength and valour, they found the task too hard for them; and, after
sundry

Vid. auctores
 e. it. at suprâ.

undry defeats, Roger de Montgomery earl of Shrewsbury, William Fitz-eustace earl of Gloucester, with many other noble persons, having been slain; and all their castles in those countries, except that of Pembroke, burnt or razed to the ground; William Rufus himself thought it necessary to march a second time into Wales at the head of a royal army; and made all the efforts to regain the provinces he had lost, that great courage, excited by the highest indignation and sense of shame, could produce. Yet so valiant were the Welsh, so prudent their leaders, and such the difficulties he found in attempting to break through the fastnesses of the mountains, that he now succeeded no better than in his former expedition.

It is very surprising, that a king, ever victorious in all his other wars, should in these, with an undisciplined and barbarous nation, have been so foiled and dishonored! William of Malmesbury ascribes it to the nature of the country, and inclemency of the weather. But, as to the first, Harold likewise had *that* to contend with; and yet he conquered all Wales. The weather indeed might happen to be better, and more favorable to him than it was to William Rufus; and rainy or stormy seasons add much to the difficulty of making war, in woody or mountainous countries: but other causes, and not so fortuitous, may well be assigned, to account for the

the different success of these princes. The Norman armies, being chiefly composed of horse, and encumbered with heavy armor, were not able to act among the steep precipices, and narrow paths of the mountains, or in the woody vales and deep bottoms; nor could they easily be subsisted in those barren places at a distance from the sea: which inconveniences it has been shewn that Harold wisely avoided; by another manner of arming and disposing his forces. The Welsh had, indeed, submitted to the Normans, under the first king of that race; being awed by the great name of *William the Conqueror*, and yielding rather to the reputation than force of his arms: whereas those impressions were now worn off: they had tried their strength with the Normans, and found it superior in repeated engagements: but the greatest difference was, that they were now under the conduct of able and skilful commanders; which advantage, more important than any other whatsoever, they had been deprived of by the absence of Gryffyth ap Ihwelyn, their general and their king, when the army of Harold attacked them in the heart of their country.

After the death of William Rufus, his successor, Henry the First, sought to divide the Welsh provinces in Powis-land and South-Wales; thinking that this would be the easiest way to subdue them: which policy proved

proved so successful, that when they had wasted their force in long civil wars, some of them, from a necessity of asking his assistance against their foes, became his friends and vassals; particularly, Cadogan and Meredyth, sons of Blethyn ap Convin. He also strengthened those provinces of South-Wales which remained under the power of England, by a new colony, very proper to answer that intention. During the reign of his father, a great number of Flemings, having been driven out of their dwellings by an extraordinary inundation of the sea on that coast, had come over to England; where they hoped to receive a protection from the queen, who was a daughter of Baldwin earl of Flanders. The king entertained them with great kindness and favor, not only out of regard to her patronage of them, but from true notions of policy; to encrease, by such an accession of useful inhabitants, the wealth and strength of his kingdom. Many of them were planted by William Rufus in the waste lands of Northumberland, and about Carlisle; but others were dispersed all over England, and began, by their multitude, to give some uneasiness; which Henry took off, and availed himself of them to yet more advantage, by sending them all to settle in South-Wales; where he gave them the district about Tenby and Haverford-West; in which their posterity remain to this day. They were very industrious, yet, at the same time, very valiant; skilful

V. Girald.
Cambrenf.
Itiner. Cambry.
l. i. c. 11.
Malmsh. f. 89.
sect. 30. l. v.
et f. 68. sect.
40. l. iv.
Flor Wigorn.
S. Dunelm.
et Hoveden,
sub ann. 1111.

V. Malmsh.
at supra.

in husbandry, manufactures, and commerce, and equally expert in the use of arms: so that they answered all ends which can be proposed in planting a colony, cultivation of lands, improvement of trade, and defence of the country. William of Malmshury speaks of them as a strong barrier, which restrained the Welsh in those regions from infesting the English territories: and certainly such a plantation was a more effectual security than any fortress or bulwark.

Welsh Chron.
P. 173, 174:

As for North-Wales, Gryffyth ap Conan, the king thereof, had never done homâge, or paid tribute, to the crown of England; but, by the strength of his country, had maintained himself independent; having lost only some districts in the more open and maritime parts of his kingdom. He remained in this state till the year eleven hundred and thirteen; at which time king Henry, having suppressed the troubles in Normandy, secured that duchy to himself, and overcome all the enemies of his greatness abroad, received complaints from the earl of Chester, that frequent devastations were made in Cheshire, and part of Flintshire, which belonged to the jurisdiction of that earldom, by the king of North-Wales, or by the rulers of provinces under him. Gilbert de Clare, earl of Pembroke and sheriff of Chester, but then called earl of Chester from the chief place of his residence, complained also that Owen, the son of Cadogan ap

ap Blethyn, harboured and maintained some bands of robbers, who infested his country. Henry swore in his anger, that he would not leave one Welshman alive in Powis-land or North-Wales; but, after having extirpated all that nation, would plant in each of them new colonies of his own subjects. To execute this, he drew together the whole force of his kingdom: and Alexander the Fierce, who then reigned in Scotland, came and served him in person, at the head of a considerable body of Scotch. Three armies were formed; one under the conduct of this prince and the earl of Chester, which was designed to attack North-Wales; another, led by the earl of Chepstow and Pembroke, which was ordered to invade those districts of South-Wales, that were still possessed by the natives; and a third, commanded by the king of England himself, with which he proposed to conquer all Powis-land. But upon his approach to that country, Meredyth ap Blethyn, intimidated by the dread of impending destruction, went and delivered himself up to his mercy; and Owen ap Cadogan fled to Gryffyth ap Conan. Henry then changed his first design; and joining his forces with those of the king of Scotland and the earl of Chester, invaded North-Wales. But all the people of that realm having retired to the mountains, and carried away all their cattle and provisions, according to the orders which their king had prudently given, these great

regular armies could not pursue them, for want of subsistence, or from the impracticability of the country itself: and some detachments, that attempted to do it, were attacked by the enemy in the streights of the mountains, and either cut to pieces, or repulsed with loss and disgrace. Under these difficulties Henry had recourse to negociation, and artfully raised a jealousy between Owen and Gryffyth, by making each of them imagine, that the other was treating a separate peace for himself. Thus, with the assistance of Meredyth, whom he chiefly employed in this business, he brought them both to seek his friendship, on such conditions as just sufficed to save his honor, but were not answerable, either to the great designs he had formed, or the extraordinary forces he had raised. For though, in consequence of this treaty, a large sum of money was paid to him by Gryffyth, perhaps as a fine, or compensation, for the ravages made in Cheshire and Flintshire, we are not told, even by the English or Norman writers, that the Welsh monarch submitted to do him homage. And the fine received was by no means adequate to the expence of the war. Nor did Henry acquire one foot of ground in the kingdom of North-Wales, or drive out any of the ancient inhabitants, or plant any new colonies of English or Normans, either in that country, or in Powisland. The earl of Chepstow indeed appears to have subdued those districts of South-Wales which

which were then possessed by the natives: for, though the Welsh chronicle takes no notice of what he performed in this war, we find by it soon afterwards, that the whole of that kingdom, *as it had been enjoyed by Rhees ap Tewdor*, was in the hands of King Henry; from whence it may be inferred, that the reduction of it was now entirely completed,

But, after some years, new disturbances Welsh Chron. P. 175, 176. arose in that country, from the pretensions of Gryffyth the son of Rhees; who, when his father was slain in the battle against Robert Fitz-Haimon, had been conveyed into Ireland, and remained there till the year eleven hundred and thirteen; which was about the twenty fourth or twenty fifth of his age; when he was permitted to return and visit his sister, who, many years before, had been mistress to Henry, and was mother to Robert earl of Gloucester. After her commerce with the king was broken off, Gerald de Windsor, a gentleman much esteemed for his valour and his prudent conduct, being then governor of Pembroke castle, obtained her hand, and was made, by her interest, lieutenant to Henry over a part of that province. With him Gryffyth was allowed to remain for some time, unmolested by the king: but suspicions arising that he began to carry on intrigues with the Welsh, whose affection to their natural princes was still unsubdued in their hearts, orders were sent to arrest him; which

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being informed of, he implored the protection of Gryffyth ap Conan, the friend of his father, who assured him, he should be safe within the bounds of North-Wales.

When Henry received intelligence of his being gone thither, he wrote a letter to that king, in terms of great friendship, desiring him to come and confer with him in England: which request being complied with, he received him very honorably, and gave him great presents, such as the poverty of the kings of North-Wales had not been accustomed to, and which therefore had a great effect on his mind. After having thus engaged his affections, he discoursed with him in private, concerning the son of Rhees ap Tewdor, whom he represented as one whose ambition would disturb the peace of all Wales. The integrity of Gryffyth ap Conan was corrupted by these seductions. When he returned to his kingdom, he commanded a body of soldiers, whom he kept in readiness for his service upon any occasion, to go and seize the person of Gryffyth ap Rhees; who, being advertised of his danger, took refuge in a church. The Welsh, of all Christian nations, were the most superstitious in the respect they paid to holy places, allowing all criminals, even murderers and traitors, to have a secure protection there, not only for themselves, but for their servants, and even for their cattle; to feed which last considerable tracts of pasture

ture land were assigned, in the whole compass whereof they were sacred and inviolable. Nay, with relation to some of the principal churches, such as that of Aberdaron, to which Gryffyth ap Rhees had recourse, the right of sanctuary was extended as far as the cattle could range in a day and return at night. Yet the king of North-Wales, having violated his promise, and the laws of hospitality, scrupled not to infringe the privileges of the church; and ordered the prince to be dragged out of his asylum by force. In doing this he exposed his authority to some danger. His soldiers endeavoured to execute his orders; but they were strongly opposed by the whole clergy of the country; with whom the people took part, not only from their bigotry, but from compassion and love for an innocent British prince, the last descendant of a long line of kings, whose memory they respected, sacrificed now, by a perfidious and inhospitable policy, to an odious, foreign power. The contention about him continued till night came on; and before morning he was secretly conveyed to Stratywy, a woody region of South-Wales; where having assembled his friends he made a sharp war against the Flemings and Normans, taking and burning some castles, and threatening even that of Caermarthyn, which king Henry had made his royal seat in that kingdom. Those who had the charge of it, distrusting their own strength, as insufficient to maintain it, sent for the

Welsh Chron.
ut supra.

nobles of the country, who were vassals to the king, and committed to their custody both the castle and town, requiring each of them, with the assistance of his own men, to defend them by turns, for fourteen days. Owen ap Caradoc, who was a grandson by his mother to Blethyn ap Conwyn, first received this commission; and notwithstanding his near relation to Gryffyth ap Rhees, acted agreeably to the trust reposed in him, and the oath of fealty he had taken: for that prince making a sudden assault on the town, he ran to oppose him; but, being forsaken in the action by most of his men, was slain upon the ramparts. The town was pillaged and destroyed; and Gryffyth returned to the forest of Stratywy, like a lion to his den, from whence he frequently issued, and ravaged the whole country. The spoils his followers had gained in the plunder of Caermarthyn, and the reputation he had won by that exploit, drew to his standard great numbers of his countrymen in South-Wales, who confidently hoped that he would recover the kingdom of his father. Thus strengthened he vigorously pursued his success, and in a short time destroyed two castles of the English; upon the fame of which actions the people of Cardiganshire voluntarily submitted themselves to his government; calling him to deliver them from the detested and ignominious yoke of the Normans. Much pleased with this invitation he entered that country, and by the most rapid successes made himself master of
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it as far as Aberistwyth, which town he besieged; but, being there drawn into an ambush laid for him, he was defeated, and compelled to quit the province. Nevertheless he maintained himself against all his enemies in the woods of Stratywy, till at last king Henry, who had vainly endeavoured to destroy him, by sending against him Owen the son of Cadogan, a wicked but valliant prince, consented to assign him other lands in South-Wales: but he did not long remain in possession of this grant, being driven out, upon accusations brought against him by the Normans, which the Welsh chronicle says were false. In the mean while, some of the Welsh in Powisland having revolted, the English monarch once again marched thither in person to chastise the rebels. In passing a defile, he was struck by an arrow on the breast. If his habergeon, or coat of mail, had not been stronger than usual, the wound would have been mortal: but the skill of his armourer saved him. We are told by the Welsh chronicle, that this was a mere random shot, made at the English by a Welshman, who, with others of his countrymen, had been posted by their master, Meredyth ap Blethyn, to guard the pass. But William of Malmesbury says, that Henry was marching, not in the enemy's country, but his own; and that when he felt the blow, he swore, *by the death of our Lord*, his usual oath, that the arrow came not from a Welsh, but English bow.

Welsh Chron.
from p. 130
to 183.

Welsh Chron.
sub ann. 1122.

De Hen. I.
f. 89. c. 30.

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Book II.

Welsh Chron.
ut supra.

He never was able to discover the traitor; and the danger he had run made him prudently desirous of ending the war; which he did, soon afterwards, by a negotiation with Meredyth, who submitted to pay him a thousand head of cattle, and a small sum of money, as a fine for the treasons committed in this insurrection by himself and his nephew; on which terms he very willingly granted to these princes pardon and peace, and returned into England. Gryffyth ap Conan, though strongly solicited, took no part in this war against the English; nor do I find any proof, that Meredyth was excited to it by a secret confederacy with Gryffyth ap Rhees.

Ord. Vital.
sub. ann.
1134, 1135.

A year before the death of Henry, while he was in Normandy, there arose some disturbances, in and about those districts of Pembrokehire where the Flemings were settled. For the natives were impatient of these strangers among them; and they, being very sensible how much they were hated, killed without mercy, or form of trial, any of the Welsh who were discovered by them lurking about in their woods, from an apprehension that they came with an intent to commit some murder or robbery; which, it must be acknowledged, the manners of that people gave them cause to suspect. But as bare suspicion could not justify such a lawless proceeding when the nations were at peace, and fellow-subjects under the protection of the

the same king, the Welsh were reasonably provoked at these acts of hostility, and some of the bravest, who dwelt upon the borders of the Flemish plantations, suddenly taking up arms, assaulted the castle of Paine Fitz-John, burnt it to the ground, and massacred all the inhabitants, men, women, and children: after which, posting themselves in the most inaccessible retreats of their woods, and gathering numbers to join them, they infested from thence the whole country of the Flemings. Henry thought this insurrection of consequence enough to demand his presence in Wales at the head of an army, which he prepared for that purpose: but the intended expedition was stopt by his disputes with Geoffry, his son in law, and by his death, which soon followed.

As soon as the news of that event was brought into Wales, the spirit of revolt became much more diffusive; and even Gryffyth ap Conan, who, from a personal regard for Henry, had been many years a steady friend and ally to the English, now turned against them; confederating himself with the rebels of South-Wales. King Stephen was hardly seated in the throne, when these made an incursion into the county of Pembroke, and cut to pieces a very considerable body of Normans: after which, being animated by their success, they over-ran the whole country, except the fortified towns and castles, massa-

V. Gest. Reg.
Steph. p. 930.
911, 932.
Continuat. ad
Flor. Wigorn.
sub ann. 1135,
1136, 1137.
Brompton's
Chron. sub.
iisdem annis.

Book II.

Welsh Chron.
p. 188 to 190.

massacring all the foreigners, wherever they came. Richard, eldest son of Gilbert de Clare, to whom all Cardiganshire had been given by Henry, was treacherously slain by Morgan ap Owen, in the course of this insurrection; and the county thus deprived of its chief governor and commander, was furiously attacked by Owen Gwyneth and Cadwallader, sons of Gryffyth ap Conan, who, with the assistance of some nobles, or chieftains, of South-Wales, took and destroyed the castle of Aberistwyth, and two or three others in that province, though strong and well garrisoned. These fortunate beginnings having excited their friends to support them, they received great supplies, and were joined by Gryffyth ap Rhees, who had married their sister. The three brothers, with united forces, subdued the whole country, as far as to Cardigan, then called Aberteivy, driving out all the foreigners, and peopling it again entirely with Welsh. Against them came Stephen, constable of Aberteivy, who, after the decease of Gerald de Windsor, had married Nesta, his widow; two sons of Gerald, and other barons who had estates in those parts, with all the power of the Normans and Flemings in Wales or the marches, which they had drawn together, in order to recover what was lost of the English dominions, or, at least, to defend what remained. But the valour of the Welsh seemed to be raised above its usual pitch, under the conduct of those princes

princes by whom they now were commanded. The English were routed, and flying to their castles were so hotly pursued, that great numbers of them were drowned in the river Teivy, by breaking down of a bridge, over which they were passing; besides three thousand, who were killed in the battle and flight, and many more taken prisoners: insomuch, that, from the time when the Normans first entered Wales, they never before had received so great a defeat; nor had their arms been so disgraced in any other country. The Welsh used their victory with the utmost inhumanity, thinking excess of revenge a virtue, and, according to the nature of a barbarous people, knowing no moderation when successful. Soon after this battle, the castle of Aberteivy, with many districts in other parts of South-Wales, fell into their hands. The sister of the earl of Chester, who, after the murder of her husband, Richard de Clare, had retired to one of his strongest castles, was now besieged in that fortress by these merciless enemies, in want of necessary provisions, and expecting, every hour, a fate more cruel than death itself: for they had exposed their female captives, even those of the highest rank, to public prostitution. She quite despaired of relief; the English being all slain, or driven out of the country; her brother far off, and so taken up in defending the earldom of Chester, that he could not be able to bring her a timely assistance. In this dreadful state she

V. G. Camb.
Itiner. Camb.
c. ii. l. 1.

she was preserved by the courage and good conduct of Milo Fitz-Walter, then constable to king Stephen, and afterwards made earl of Hereford by the empress Matilda, of whom much has been said in the former book. This nobleman, being in Brecknockshire, which he had obtained from King Henry together with his wife, the daughter and sole heiress of Bernard de Neufmarché the first conqueror of that province, received orders from Stephen to use his utmost efforts to deliver the unfortunate countess of Clare. The enterprize appeared to be almost impossible: but his pity of her distress, and the gallant spirit of Chivalry, no less than his obedience to the commands of his sovereign, made him attempt it. He instantly marched, with a body of chosen troops, along the tops of the mountains, and most unfrequented paths of the woods with which the country there was covered, and arriving at the castle, unseen by the enemy, who thought it inaccessible on that side to the English, carried off the lady and all her attendants: an action resembling those of the knights in romances!

It does not appear, that, during all the course of this war, Glamorganshire ever was attacked by the Welsh; though the opportunity seemed to be favorable; the earl of Gloucester, who was lord of that province by his marriage with the heiress thereof, having

having been absent from thence almost the whole time. But as that nobleman, on the mother's side, was lineally derived from the kings of South-Wales, and bastardy, by the customs and laws of the nation, was accounted no stain, the Welsh might naturally consider him as a prince of their own, and for this reason might allow him a portion of that kingdom his ancestors had enjoyed; especially as he was also the son of a king whom they had greatly respected.

When the conquest of Cardiganshire was entirely completed, the land was divided among the confederates. In the following year, eleven hundred and thirty seven, died Gryffyth ap Rhees, who, in the Welsh chronicle, is called *the light, honor, and prop of South-Wales*; and his death was quickly followed by that of Gryffyth ap Conan, styled by the same historian *the only defence and shield of all Wales*. Both indeed were princes of uncommon abilities, especially the latter, who had reigned fifty years in a country so liable to changes of government, and by his valour and policy, had not only preserved it from intestine commotions, but freed it from its former subjection to England. After his death his dominions were divided among his sons; but the sovereignty was in the eldest, Owen Gwyneth. They continued sometime in fraternal concord and amity one with another; their ambition being employed

Welsh Chron.
from p. 191
to 194.

ployed in endeavouring to expel the English and Flemings from every part of South-Wales. At the beginning of Owen's reign, he and his brothers made an inroad into that kingdom; took some castles that the Normans had lately built in Caermarthynshire; and burned to the ground, a second time, the town of Caermarthyn. King Stephen suffered much, both in reputation and dominion, by all these losses in Wales: but a nearer concern employed his thoughts, how to secure to himself the crown of England. The urgent necessity of resisting the attempts of the Welsh had been assigned as a reason for giving him that crown; but he judged it more necessary to restrain and subdue the opponents of his title than the enemies of his kingdom; and therefore left the defence of the English territories in Wales, and the bordering counties of England, to those who were more immediately interested in them, the proprietors of the lands, and the lords of the marches; only supplying them with large sums of money: which proving ineffectual, he thought it expedient to make peace with the Welsh, by leaving them all they had conquered, free of homage or tribute. At least it does not appear, that any such mark of his sovereignty over them was ever paid to him by any of their princes in North or South-Wales. Yet, by these shameful concessions he only stopped them a while from further hostilities; but lost for
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ever the affections of all his English subjects in Wales and the borders. It appears that all the noble families, except that of Clare, which had any possessions or grants within the Welsh confines, and all the counties of England contiguous to Wales, declared for Matilda, and adhered to her, during the whole civil war. Nor did the treaty made with Stephen prevent the Welsh princes from strengthening the earl of Gloucester with a numerous body of auxiliary forces. In the latter years of this reign, the sons of Gerald de Windsor, and Gilbert de Clare earl of Pembroke, made some attempts to recover those districts of South-Wales, which the above-mentioned peace had abandoned to the Welsh, particularly the provinces of Caermarthyn and Cardigan: but they were driven out again by the sons of Owen Gwyneth and of Gryffyth ap Rhees, after having been defeated in several battles, and having lost some castles, which Gilbert de Clare had rebuilt. Another very strong one, in

Welsh Chron^d
from. p. 197
to p. 199.

Flintshire, had been often unsuccessfully besieged by the Welsh, and the garrison of it much infested the neighbouring country, till Owen himself came before it, and, notwithstanding a very obstinate and valiant defence, took it by storm, and immediately levelled it to the ground. A little before he began this siege, he had lost a favorite son, who had distinguished himself by many brave actions against the English. The weight of

Welsh Chron^d
P. 199.

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Welsh Chron.
from p. 199
to p. 204.

that affliction lay heavy on his mind: he seemed entirely deprived of all sense of joy: but the glory of this achievement so raised his spirits, that he shook off his grief, and returned to his former pleasures. If all the Welsh had united under this martial prince, during the weakness and confusion which the long civil war between Stephen and Matilda had brought upon England, they might have driven all the foreigners out of their country: but the dissensions that arose among their own chiefs interrupted their victories, diminished their force, and made some of them friends and confederates to the English. Madoc ap Meredyth, who then was master of almost all Powis-land, disdaining to hold it under the sovereignty of North-Wales, joined his arms to the earl of Chester's, which had been lately victorious against the Welsh in those parts, and made an incursion with him into the territories of Owen. That prince gave them battle; and though their forces were much superior to his, both in numbers and in arms, he entirely routed them, and cut to pieces, or took prisoners, most of their men; but the leaders escaped by the assistance of their horses; the conquering army having none. Hot incursions were likewise made by the sons of Gryffyth ap Rhees into the territories of Madoc, to revenge his treason against his country; for such they esteemed his confederacy with the English: but while their arms were thus em-

employed, or turned against the sons of Owen, with whom they often had disputes on the division of conquests, the English and Flemings in South-Wales recovered strength, and were enabled to defend their long-disputed possessions,

Such was the state of all Wales, and of the English plantations, or settlements, which had been made there by conquest, when Henry the Second ascended the throne of England. The general character of the Welsh, as it was in those days, has been given with so much accuracy, spirit, and judgment, in the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, a celebrated contemporary author, and one who was himself related to them in blood, that I think it will be proper to collect what he has said in different places, and set the whole picture before the eyes of the reader. He tells us, that not only the nobility and gentry, but the whole people of Wales, were universally addicted to arms: that they gave no attention to commerce, navigation, or mechanical arts, and but little to agriculture; depending for sustenance chiefly on their cattle; and disliking, or rather disdaining, any labour, except the toils of war and hunting, in which, from their infancy, they trained themselves up with unwearied alacrity; military exercises, or the severest fatigues in the woods and mountains, being their constant diversions in

*v. Girald.
Cambrenf.
Cambriæ des-
cript. c. 8, 9,
10, 11, 12, 13,
17, 18. et
Itiner. Camb.
l. ii. c. 5. et
librum ejusd.
de Illaudabi-
libus Walliæ.*

times of peace. Their bodies were naturally not robust; but, by this manner of life, they became exceedingly active, hardy, and dextrous in the use of their arms, and ever ready to take them up, when occasion required it. To fight for their country, and lose their lives in defence of its honor and liberty, was their chief pride: but to die in their beds they thought disgraceful.

A very honorable testimony was given to their valour by King Henry the Second, in a letter to the Greek emperor, Emanuel Comnenus. This prince having desired that an account might be sent him of all that was most remarkable in the island of Britain, Henry, in answer to that request, was pleased to take notice, among other particulars, of the extraordinary courage and fierceness of the Welsh, *who were not afraid to fight unarmed with enemies armed at all points, willingly shedding their blood in the cause of their country, and purchasing glory at the expence of their lives.* But these words must not be taken in too strict a sense, as if they had absolutely worn no armour: for they used small and light targets, which were commonly made of hides, and sometimes of iron: but, except their breasts, which these guarded, all the rest of their bodies was left defenceless; nor did they cover their heads with casques, or helmets; so that in comparison of the English, or other nations of Europe,

Europe, they might be called *unarmed*. Their offensive weapons were arrows, and long pikes, or spears, which were of great use against cavalry; and these they, occasionally, either pushed with, or darted; in which exercise the whole nation was wonderfully expert; but, more especially the men of North-Wales, who had pikes so strong and well-pointed, that they would pierce through an iron coat of mail: but those of South-Wales, and, particularly the province of Guent, or Monmouth, which was then a part of that kingdom, were accounted the best archers, not being inferior, in the use of the long bow, to the Normans themselves.

The common people fought on foot; but some of the nobility began now to ride upon horses bred in their own country, which were high-mettled, and swift, but not very strong: and even these gentlemen would frequently dismount, both in combating, and when they fled; the nature of their country, as well as their discipline, being better adapted to foot than horse. Their first onset was terrible; but, if stoutly resisted, they soon gave ground, and could never be rallied; in which they resembled other barbarous nations, and particularly the Britons and Celts, their forefathers. Yet, though defeated, and dispersed, they were not subdued; but presently returned to make war

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again upon those from whom they had fled, by ambuscades and night marches, or by sudden assaults, when they were least expected; in which their agility, spirit, and impetuosity, made up what they wanted in weight and firmness: so that, although they were easily overcome in a battle by regular troops, they were with great difficulty vanquished in a war. The same vivacity which animated their hearts inspired their tongues. They were of quick and sharp wit; naturally eloquent, and ready in speaking, without any awe or concern, before their superiors, or in publick assemblies. But from this fire in their tempers they were all very passionate, vindictive, and sanguinary in their resentments: nor was their revenge only sudden and violent, when they received any personal injury or affront, or while the sting of it was recent in their minds; but it was frequently carried back, by a false sense of honor, even to very remote and traditional quarrels, in which any of their family had been ever engaged. For not only the nobles and gentry, but even the lowest among them, had each by heart his own genealogy, together with which he retained a constant remembrance of every injury, disgrace, or loss, his forefathers had suffered, and thought it would be degeneracy not to resent it as personal to himself: so that the vanity of this people, with regard to their families, served to perpetuate implacable feuds, and
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a kind of civil war among private men; besides the dissensions it excited among their kings and chief lords, which proved the destruction of their national union, and consequently broke their national strength.

They were in their nature very light and inconstant, easily impelled to any undertaking, even the most wicked and dangerous, and as easily induced to quit it again; desirous of change, and not to be held by any bonds of faith or oaths, which they violated without scruple or sense of shame, both in publick and private transactions. To plunder and rob was scarce accounted dishonorable among them, even when committed against their own countrymen, much less against foreigners. They hardly ever married without a prior cohabitation; it being customary for parents to let out their daughters to young men upon trial, for a sum of money paid down, and under a penalty, agreed upon between them, if the girls were returned. The people in general, and more especially their princes and nobles, gave themselves up to excessive lewdness; but were remarkably temperate in eating and drinking, constantly fasting till evening, and then making a sober meal; unless when they were entertained at the tables of foreigners, where they indulged themselves immoderately, both in liquor and food, passing at once from their habit of abstinence to the

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most riotous and brutal excess: but, nevertheless, when they came home, they returned with great ease to their former course of life; and none of their nobles were led by the example of the English, to run out their fortunes by a profuseness in keeping a table. No kind of luxury was yet introduced into their manner of living; not even a decent convenience, or neatness. They seemed to be proud of not wanting those delicacies which other nations are proud of enjoying. Their kings indeed, and a few of their principal nobles, had built some castles, in imitation of the English; but most of their gentry still continued to dwell in huts made of wattles, and situated in solitudes, by the sides of the woods, as most convenient for hunting and pasture, or for a retreat, in time of war. They had no gardens, nor orchards, nor any improvements about their dwellings, which they commonly changed every year, and removed to other places (as the Britons and Celts, their ancestors, had been accustomed to do) for the sake of fresh pasture and a new supply of game.

Their furniture was as simple and mean as their houses, such as might answer the mere necessities of gross and uncivilized nature. The only elegance among them was musick, which they were so fond of, that in every family there generally were some who played on the harp; and skill in that instrument

instrument was valued by them more than all other knowledge. This greatly contributed to keep up that chearfulness, which was more universal and constant in the Welsh than in the Saxons or Normans.

Notwithstanding their poverty they were so hospitable, that every man's house was open to all; and thus no wants were felt by the most indigent, nor was there a beggar in the nation. When any stranger, or traveller came to a house, he used no other ceremony, than, at his first entrance, to deliver his arms into the hands of the master, who thereupon offered to wash his feet; which if he accepted, it was understood to signify his intention of staying there all night; and none who did so was refused. Whatever the number or quality of their guests might happen to be, the master and mistress of the house waited on them, and would not sit down at table with them, or taste any food, till they had supped. The fire was placed in the middle of the room, on each side of which was spread a coarse bed of hemp over a thin mat of rushes, where the whole family and their guests slept together, without even a curtain betwixt them. Their feet lay always next to the fire, which, being kept burning all night, supplied the want of bedcloths, for they had no covering but the cloaths they wore in the day.

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It was customary among them to receive in a morning large companies of young men, who, following no occupation but arms, whenever they were not in action strolled over the country, and entered into any house that they found in their way; where they were entertained, till the evening, with the musick of the harp and free conversation with the young women of the family: upon which Giraldus Cambrensis makes this remark, that of all the nations in the universe none were more jealous of their women than the Irish, or less than the Welsh. In other respects their manners so nearly agreed, when that author wrote, as to discover the marks of a Celtic origin common to both,

V. Tacitum in
vita Agricola,
c. 21.

One is surprised in observing how absolutely the Britons, after their retreat into Wales, lost all the culture they had received from the Romans, and, instead of refining the ancient inhabitants of that part of the island, relapsed themselves into their rude and barbarous manners. This is the more wonderful, because the Latin tongue and no contemptible share of its learning were long preserved in their publick schools, and continued, though indeed in a declining state, even down to the times of which I write. They had also retained the profession of the Christian religion, but debased with gross superstitions: Giraldus Cambrensis informs us, that they paid, in his days, a more de-

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vout reverence to churches and churchmen, to the relicks of saints, to crosses, and to bells, than any other nation. Whenever any of them happened to meet a monk, or other ecclesiastick, they instantly threw down their arms, and bowing their heads, implored his benediction. When they undertook a journey into any foreign country, or when they married, or were enjoined by their confessors any public penance, they paid a full tenth of all their goods, which they called *the great tythe*, in the proportion of two parts to the church wherein they had been baptized, and one to their bishop. How far they carried their respect to asylums and sanctuaries has already been mentioned. The excess of their superstition with relation to this point is censured by Giraldus Cambrensis himself, as great a bigot as he was; and it certainly must have been one principal cause, why so many murders and other crimes were committed among them. Their hermits were celebrated for severer austerities than any others in Europe, the vehemence of their temper carrying their virtues, as well as vices, into extremes. Pilgrimages to Rome were their favorite mode of devotion, though they had many saints of their own nation, whose shrines they adored with the blindest superstition. In short, their religion, for the most part, was so different from genuine Christianity, that either it was prejudicial to civil society, or did it no good.

The

The first act of government, relating to Wales, that we find to have been done by Henry the Second, was his strengthening the colony of Flemings in Pembrokeshire, by allowing some of the Flemish mercenaries, whom, in the first year of his reign, he banished out of England, to go to their countrymen established in that province, and settle among them. This was a very prudent and politick measure. For they were as serviceable there to him and his realm, as they had been hurtful in England. The former plantation, after the Welsh had subdued the bordering provinces, had with invincible courage maintained their ground, till the decease of King Stephen. A cessation of hostilities on the part of the Welsh soon followed that event: their princes becoming jealous the one of the other, and more inclined to dispute among themselves the possession of the conquests they had made, than to attempt more, either separately, or confederated together. This reinforcement of brave and veteran soldiers was therefore sufficient to defend the Flemish colony; and Henry was contented with thus fortifying that part of South-Wales which was still possessed by his subjects: but as, in the late civil war, his mother had been affectionately served by the Welsh, and he was embarrassed with several more urgent affairs at the beginning of his reign, he suffered their princes to retain the provinces, which, under that of his prede-

predecessor, they had recovered from the English: yet not by a cession of them, or any acknowledgement of the right of those princes; but by a bare acquiescence, which left him at liberty to assert his own pretensions to the dominion thereof, and the claim of his subjects to the lands, at a more proper season. All Powis-land, except some districts between the Wye and the Severne, which were held of his crown by the earl of Chester and other barons of England, was then under the government of Madoc ap Meredyth, his friend and vassal. But the conduct of this prince had rendered him so obnoxious to the rest of his countrymen, and more especially to Owen Gwyneth, that, with a view to his future security, he diligently employed all his credit with Henry, to incite him to make war against North-Wales, in order to reduce it under its former subjection to England. These instigations were vehemently enforced by Cadwallader, brother to Owen; who, having killed his own son-in-law, the eldest son of Gryffyth, late prince of South-Wales, in single combat, upon a sudden quarrel, had been driven out of his country by Owen himself, and was now an exile in the court of England; where he sued to the king for aid to recover his lands. In this suit he was assisted by all the relations and friends of his wife, a lady of the noble and powerful house of Clare. But, more than all their persuasions, the

desire

Itiner. Camb.
l. ii. c. 10.
Chron. Norm.
p. 993.
Gul. Neubrig.
l. ii. p. 383,
384.

Book II. desire of glory, and a just sense of the importance of the object proposed to him, urged Henry on to this war. He thought it would be a reproach, and a stain to his honor, if he should suffer any longer a petty prince of North-Wales, whose predecessors had been tributaries and vassals to England in former times, to hold his dominions independent on him, whose empire extended so far beyond that of any other monarch, that ever had reigned in this island. Nor could he, in the high and flourishing state of his kingdom, be easy under the loss of those provinces of South-Wales, which the weakness of Stephen's government, amidst the distractions of civil war, had enabled the Welsh to reconquer from the English; especially, as neither the sons of Gryffyth ap Rhees, nor those of Owen Gwyneth, had ever done him homage for the territories they held in any parts of that country. He knew, that none of his subjects, who still retained their possessions within the limits of Wales, could hope to enjoy a lasting tranquillity, unless he subdued the arrogance of those ambitious princes, and forced them to acknowledge that he was their sovereign. There was no enterprize, which could be undertaken by him in foreign parts, so necessary as this; or of equal advantage to his *great interest*; that is, to the interest of his *regal dominions*. He therefore resolved to attempt it, and having drawn out of the whole

whole militia of England a very great army, he led it through Cheshire into Flintshire, and advanced towards Basingwerk, a castle built by an earl of Chester, which the Welsh, in the late reign, had taken and demolished. At this place, or nigh to it, Owen Gwyneth lay encamped, with all the forces he could collect out of a populous nation, in which (excepting the clergy) every man was a soldier. He seemed determined to stay there and give battle to the king; but this appearance was only an artifice, to draw the English into a narrow and difficult pass, between two ranges of hills, where he had secretly placed a numerous ambuscade, under the command of his sons. Henry, too confident in the strength of his army, and not consulting enough with those who had a more perfect knowledge of the country, fell into the snare, and paid dearly for his rashness. When he and his vanguard were engaged in the middle of these streights, the Welsh, rising at once, with the most horrible outcries, from under the cover of the woods, that hung over the steep and rocky sides of the pass, assaulted them with stones, arrows, and other missile weapons. The disadvantage of the place, the confusion they were thrown into, the dismay that came upon them, quite disabled them from resisting this unexpected attack. Two great barons, Eustace Fitz-John and Robert de Courcy, were slain. Henry finding it impossible

Vid. auctores
citat. ut supra.

possible to advance any further, endeavoured to retire back to the entrance of the streights, and with much difficulty performed it; but most of the troops, which had composed his vanguard, were miserably destroyed, before he was able to disengage, either them, or himself, from this fatal situation. Some, who escaped by flight, carried their fear along with them, and meeting the rest of the army, who were advancing in good order to the entrance of the pass, spread among them a report of the death of the king: upon which, Henry de Essex, hereditary standard-bearer of England, was seized with such a terror, that he threw to the ground the royal standard, and cried aloud, "The king is slain!" The consternation became general; the troops fell into disorder; the Welsh perceiving it, issued forth, and attacked them with great fury; the whole army would have been routed in the most shameful manner, if Henry, at this instant, had not shewn himself to them, and, with a countenance full of alacrity, encouraged, rallied, and led them on to the charge. Animated by the joy of seeing him safe, they quickly drove the enemy back into the wood. He then drew off his forces, and encamping them in a station where he had nothing to fear, deliberating with his barons and other principal officers, what measures he should pursue in the management of the war, against such dangerous enemies, whose

valour

valour he found so prudently conducted. The plan, he now formed, was, to leave upon his left the tract of woody hills, through which he had so unhappily attempted to pass, and march along the sea-shore, till he should get beyond Basingwerk, to the back of the post the Welsh had taken; at the same time ordering his fleet (as Harold had done) to cruize along the coasts, and make descents upon the open parts of the country. But, when Owen was informed of these resolutions, he retired to a strong post in the mountains of Snowden, and there encamped. Henry immediately subdued all Flintshire; and, to secure his possession, made roads for an army to pass without difficulty through the whole province; cut down the woods; rebuilt the important castles of Ruthlan and Basingwerk; began that of Flint; and founded a house for the Knights Templars, which was a new kind of garrison, unknown before in that country, but as useful as any other to bridle the Welsh. While he was employed in these works, Owen, dreading the consequences of their being completed, came down from the mountains, and advanced to the borders of Flintshire. Several skirmishes happened afterwards between the two armies, but no general action; the Welsh prince being afraid to venture a battle in an open or level country, and the king of England, instructed by the loss he had suffered, as carefully avoiding to expose him-

self, or his army, to any more ambuscades. In the mean time a great fleet, assembled at Chester by his orders, had sailed from that harbour, and assisted his operations in Flintshire; after which he sent it to infest the other coasts of North-Wales, under the command of Madoc ap Meredyth, whom he employed in this service, to render the enmity between him and his countrymen more irreconcilable. Some of the forces of that prince, in conjunction with the English, made a descent on the isle of Anglesey; where they ravaged the country, and plundered even the churches, without resistance: but as they were returning to their ships, overloaded with spoils, the whole strength of the isle fell suddenly upon them, and cut them to pieces. Yet, though this attempt was so unfortunate, Owen, finding himself unable to hinder the English from subduing or desolating the most fertile parts of his maritime provinces, and preventing the importation of corn from abroad, was very uneasy for fear of wanting provisions, if he should either remain long in the post he had taken, or shut himself up with his army in the desarts of Snowden. He therefore sued for peace; which Henry granted him on such terms, as were both advantageous and honorable to England; namely, that Owen should do him homage, yield up all the districts and castles in North-Wales, which, during the reign of King Stephen, had been

V. auctores
citat. ut supia.

won from the English, and deliver two of his sons as hostages for his future fidelity. He also obliged him to restore the lands of his brother Cadwallader; by which that prince was confirmed in his attachment to England, and others of the Welsh nation were encouraged to desire its protection and favor. Having obtained these great points, and put strong garrisons in the castles of Ruthlan and Basingwerk, he left the remains of the war to be prosecuted by the Lords of the Marches against the inferior Welsh princes, who, he supposed, would not long continue in arms, after Owen had submitted. Nor was he mistaken in his judgment. For, at the beginning of the following year, all the princes of South-Wales, except Rhees ap Gryffyth, and all the lesser chieftains and nobles of that country, came to him in England, and there received from him the conditions of a peace, which he accorded to them on their making a full cession to him of all the territories or lordships, which had been won from the crown or subjects of England in the reign of his predecessor, and doing him homage for their own patrimonial estates. As for Powis-land, the much greater part of that country was then under the government of Madoc ap Meredyth, who held it of him by liege homage; and the rest was in the hands of several English lords, except perhaps a few districts, conquered from them.

V. auctores
citat. ut supra

by the Welsh during the course of the war, and allowed by the king to continue in their possession, upon their becoming his vassals. But no quiet or perfect settlement could be made of South-Wales, while Rhees ap Gryffyth remained unconquered. The great spirit of that prince could not patiently endure to see the dominions, which for many ages had belonged to his illustrious ancestors, torn by the arms of ambitious foreigners from him and his children. He commanded his people to remove their flocks, herds, and other goods, to the desert of Tywy, and made war on the king of England, though deserted and betrayed by all his confederates. Henry, who esteemed his courage and magnanimity, sent him a friendly invitation to come to his court, with an assurance that he should be graciously and kindly received; but threatened, if he refused the favor offered to him, that the whole power of England and Wales should be employed to bring him thither. Having consulted with his friends what answer to return, and being advised by them to go, he followed their counsel; and the king, receiving his homage, gave him the ancient demesne of his ancestors in South-Wales; but not without taking from him, as hostages for his fidelity, two of his sons; a like security having been exacted from all the other Welsh princes. Thus was concluded this troublesome and very dangerous war, with great honor to Henry,

Henry, who, in the issue of it, recovered all the English possessions within the confines of Wales, which Stephen had lost; and did that, which neither his grandfather, King Henry the First, nor William Rufus could do, restored to England its sovereignty over the whole nation, by forcing not only the inferior princes, but the king of North-Wales himself, to hold his territories as a vassal, under homage and fealty.

Some years after these events, a quarrel arising between Henry de Essex and Robert de Montfort, the former was publicly reproached by the latter for his cowardly behaviour in this war, and accused of high-treason. Henry had called him to no account for it, at the time when it happened; imputing it only to a sudden impression of terror, and not to a wilful or criminal treachery, which there does not seem to have been the least reason to suspect. Military discipline, indeed, might require him to be punished, and the king was strict in that discipline (as a wise prince will always be); but, in this instance, his regard for the honor of a family, which both in blood and alliances was very illustrious, and some compassion for an unhappy moment of weakness, which future actions might atone for, prevailed over that rigour, which, necessary as it is, may sometimes give way to the dictates of humanity, even for reasons

C c. 3.

of

v. Neubrig.
l. ii. c. 5.
Brompt Chr.
sub ann. 1158.

of prudence. Henry de Essex served afterwards in the war of Toulouse without reproach : but this unfortunate quarrel happening, and one of his peers thus arraigning him of a capital crime, he either demanded himself a trial by duel (less improper in this case than, perhaps, in any other) or agreed to it when offered by his accuser : and the king, though he disapproved that barbarous method of trial (as I shall have occasion to shew hereafter) could not avoid allowing it at the request of both the parties. He therefore appointed the lists according to law : the combat was fought in his presence : Henry de Essex was vanquished by his braver antagonist ; and, if he had suffered the legal penalties, must have been ignominiously put to death, or, at least, have lost his eyes : but the king, with his usual clemency, mitigated that doom ; permitting him to take the habit of a monk in the abbey of Reading ; the only state proper for him ; as the rules of Chivalry in those days would not allow him to continue any longer in the world, or hold lands by knight's service, under such a load of publick dishonor.

Hoved. Ann.
par. ii. et
Chron. Mail-
ros. sub ann.
1157.

During the course of the year eleven hundred and fifty seven, while Henry was at Chester, Malcolm the Third, king of Scotland, came to wait upon him there, and do him homage for the fiefs he held of England, which he did *with a saving to all his royal dignities,*

nities. The next year he again attended a great council, held by Henry at Carlisle, and was very desirous of receiving from the hands of that monarch the honor of knighthood: but some difference, unaccounted for by any historian, arising between them, Henry would not then confer upon him that favour. Yet they still continued friends; and, whatever this cloud of dissatisfaction might be, it was soon dissipated. The Christmas festival of the year eleven hundred and fifty eight being celebrated at Lincoln by Henry, upon his return from Carlisle, he wore his crown, as in such solemnities it was customary to do; but held his court *in the suburbs*, from regard to an ancient superstition, which supposed that great calamities would befall any king who should be crowned *in that city*, Stephen had been the first who publicly despised, and acted against this absurd opinion; but the crown having been afterwards taken from his family, it was confirmed more than ever in the minds of the vulgar. Henry yielded to a folly he could not remove, and, perhaps, in so doing he acted wisely: but although he complied with the people in this instance, he did not think with them, if we may judge by his behaviour on another occasion. For Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, that as he made some stay at St. David's, on his return out of Ireland, a woman of the country brought a complaint to him against the bishop, which not being instantly answered by him

Book II.

Hoveden, sub
ann. 1158.Neubrig. l. ii.
c. 9.Hibernia ex-
pugnata, l. i.
c. 37.

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

in the manner she desired, she cried out, with great vehemence, screaming and clapping her hands, *Avenge us Lech-laver, avenge our nation, this day, of this man*: nor could she be hindered, by the endeavours of those who were present, from often repeating these words. Now, this *Lech-laver*, whose vengeance she so wildly invoked, was a great stone, ten feet in length and six in breadth, which lay across a small rivulet, in the cathedral church-yard. Probably it had been one of those consecrated stones, which the ancient druids erected in many parts of this island; and though Christianity had long abolished the worship, the superstition of the Welsh might still ascribe to it some miraculous power: but what this woman alluded to was a prediction very famous among them; and supposed to have been delivered by their great prophet, Merlin, that a king of England returning from the conquest of Ireland should die upon Lech-laver. Henry, being informed of this by the persons about him, went and looked at the stone for a few moments, and then passing over it said aloud to all there, *Who will hereafter have any faith in the liar Merlin?* From whence I conclude, that he would not have been afraid of being crowned within the walls of Lincoln, if he could as easily have shewn the vanity of that prophecy, as he did of this; or if he had not judged that the superstitions of his subjects in England required more complaisance from him than those of the Welsh.

In

In the same year, eleven hundred and fifty eight, was completed a very great and difficult work, which the king had begun two years before; namely, the restoring of the money of his kingdom to its due weight and fineness. From the continual wants and disorders of government during the reign of King Stephen, it had been so debased, that Henry saw a necessity, for the sake of the national commerce, to call in the whole and recoin it; an act the more meritorious, as it does not appear that any aid was granted to the crown for defraying the expence of it, or any loss sustained by the owners of the specie thus brought to the mint! Together with the rest was gathered in and melted down all that money, which, during the late unhappy times of anarchy and confusion, many of the barons, usurping the exercise of royal authority, had dared to coin in their own names; and this sufficiently accounts for none of those coins having ever been found. It was indeed very proper, not to let any memorials remain to posterity, of such a violation of the rights of our monarchy, in one of its greatest and most essential prerogatives.

Diceto et Annales Waverl.
sub ann. 1158.
Hoveden sub
ann. 1156.

The kingdom of England enjoying now a perfect tranquillity, Henry went over to Normandy, where some affairs of importance demanded his presence. By the death of Conan le Gros, late duke of Bretagne, that dutchy had

Neubrig. l. ii.
c. 7.
Chron. Norm.
p. 992. 964.
Argentré Hist.
de Bretagne,
l. iv. c. 15.

Book II.

had been thrown into great troubles and disorders. For this prince having disinherited his son Hoel on an uncertain suspicion of bastardy, Eudo earl of Pontieure (now called Pentievre) laid claim to the succession in right of Bertha, his wife, the eldest daughter of Conan, whom he had married after the decease of Alan earl of Richmond and of the lower Bretagne, her first husband. But the inhabitants of the city and earldom of Nantes, having an affection for Hoel, who, they thought, was unjustly deprived of his inheritance, put themselves under his government. While they were engaged in a war with the earl of Pontieure on this account, his wife Bertha died: which event produced immediately a new competition; Conan le Petit, her son by the earl of Richmond, laying claim to the duchy, and Eudo, his father-in-law, refusing to resign it. Much blood was shed in this quarrel, but, after various successes, the baron de Fougères, who fought for Conan, took Eudo prisoner; whereupon almost all the nobility of Bretagne did homage to the former. During the course of these troubles the inhabitants of Nantes and its earldom had remained for some time under the dominion of Hoel; but finding by experience that he was deficient in sense and courage they afterwards drove him out, as incapable of the government to which they had called him; and he probably died very soon, or retired into a convent; no further men.

Vid. auctores
cit. ut supra.

mention being made of him in the history of those times. Nevertheless his late subjects, instead of submitting to Conan, elected for their ruler, Prince Geoffry Plantagenet, who, having been lately disappointed in his designs upon Anjou, gladly embraced this occasion of advancing his fortune. Nor did his brother, King Henry, oppose their choice: but on the contrary (if we may believe an historian of Bretagne) supported him against Conan; the goodness of his nature overcoming all those sentiments of resentment, which the past behaviour of this prince might have reasonably excited. And indeed, without his assistance, the people of Nantes must have found it a very difficult enterprize, to maintain that province thus divided from the rest of the dutchy. He did not even avail himself of this new provision made for Geoffry, to withdraw from him the pension he had settled upon him. But a long possession of either was not granted by Providence to this unfortunate prince. Within less than two years from his election he died, and left no issue. Presently after his decease Conan seized on the earldom as belonging to the dutchy: but King Henry laid claim to it, as heir to his brother, who, I presume, left it to him by a testamentary settlement, with the consent of the citizens and vassals of the earldom: for otherwise it would be difficult to make out his title; since what Geoffry had possessed, not by blood, but election, could never descend

Argenté.
l. iv. c. 52.

scend from that prince to his elder brother by right of inheritance. But he might desire on his death-bed, to atone in this manner for his former rebellions against him; and his will might be ratified by the nobility and the people; who having offended, by their past conduct, both Conan and Eudo, were afraid of submitting to either of those princes, and could find no potentate who was so able to defend them against both as Henry Plantagenet. How far they were justified in denying obedience to Conan, after the expulsion of Hoel, may be matter of doubt. The best excuse for it is, the latitude, which the ancient British customs, that continued to prevail, with regard to the government, there as well as in Wales, gave to the community in disposing of the right of succession. But, whether the title of Henry was just or unjust, he did not much apprehend any opposition thereto, unless a jealousy of his further aggrandisement in France should induce Louis to take part with Conan, or Eudo, against him; and therefore he set on foot a negotiation, which he had reason to believe would hinder that monarch from obstructing his designs. This was a proposal for a treaty of marriage between Prince Henry, who was now his eldest son (William, his first-born, having died about two years before) and Margaret, the daughter of Louis le Jeune by his second wife, Constantia, princess of Castile. Both were very young children: but it

was

Diceto Imag.
Hist. et Gerv.
Chron. sub
ann. 1158.
Chron. Norm.
p. 994.
Neubrig. l. ii.
c. 7.

Hist. Ludov.
vii. Reg. apud.
Duchefne,
tom. iv p.
415, 416.

was the mode of the times to cement alliances and connect families by contracts between royal infants. The offer was joyfully accepted by Louis, who thought it both advantageous and honorable to him; and Constantia, his queen, most passionately desired it, having no greater object of ambition (as she had no son) than to procure for her daughter the inheritance of the kingdom of England, and other territories possessed by the house of Plantagenet. Henry knew this, and meant to avail himself of these disposition for more than one purpose. Besides the advantage of not being molested in his pretensions to Nantes, he hoped, by means of this alliance, to recover Gisors, and the rest of the Norman Vexin, which had been ceded by his father to Louis le Gros. This territory was a frontier of great importance, containing, besides the strong fortress abovementioned, the castles of Neufle and Neufchâtel, with some others of lesser note; which chain of forts, if reunited to the duchy of Normandy, would form a good barrier for the defence of that country; but remaining in the hands of the king of France would expose it to continual danger. Henry proposed that these places should be given by that prince as a portion to his daughter; and, considering the greatness of the match he offered, the demand was not exorbitant. Overtures being made of this affair to Louis by Henry's chancellor, Becket, the two kings had an interview on the bor-

v. auctores
citat ut supra.

ders

ders of Normandy, in which they agreed on the match, and mutually pledged their faith thereupon to each other: but some circumstances requiring a further discussion, Louis returned to Paris, and Becket was sent to negotiate with him there.

In the mean time Henry, secure of having no opposition from the French court, which he had entirely gained by the lure of this marriage, ordered all the military tenants of his dutchy of Normandy to attend him in arms at Avranches, on the feast of St. Michael, declaring his resolution to make war against Conan in the dutchy of Bretagne, if that prince should refuse to yield to him the possession of the city of Nantes with its earldom. While the forces were assembling, Becket's negotiation was skilfully conducted and happily finished. He had been instructed to require, that the young princess should be immediately sent into Normandy, and educated there, under the care of her father-in-law, till she should be of an age to accomplish the marriage. How uneasy soever this separation might be to the fondness of her parents, their consent to it was gained by the address of the minister; and thus Henry obtained the custody of her person, which was the most effectual security for the performance of the contract, against any change in the variable mind of her father. It also gave Henry an air of superiority, which he was desirous to assume in this treaty. Becket found greater dif-

difficulty in another part of his business. His master required, that Gisors, with the other castles and territories that were to be given as a portion to Margaret, should be immediately delivered into his hands. But this was refused; and undoubtedly with good reason; because a portion is not given upon a contract of marriage, but upon its conclusion. To get over this objection Becket proposed, that Gisors and the castles of Neufle and Neufchâtel should be instantly committed to the custody of three knights templars, named by both kings, who should deliver them to Henry, on the day that his son should wed the princess. This was agreed to, and Henry gained by it a considerable advantage, from the neutrality of those places, which commanded his whole frontier, in case of a war breaking out between him and Louis. The complaisance of the latter may not only be ascribed to his eagerness for the match, but also to the dexterity of Henry's ambassador, who excelled in the arts of persuasion and insinuation, to which, upon this occasion, he added a liberality, that was still more prevailing. If we may believe a contemporary writer of his life, he loaded with presents every French nobleman, baron, knight, and servant of the king or queen: nay, he extended his munificence to the doctors in the university of Paris, to the students, and to all the principal citizens. The court therefore, and all persons who could have any influence over the

Diceto imag.
hist. p. 532.
Heribertus in
vit. Becket.
Neubrig. l. ii.
c. 34.
Brompton's
Chron.
p. 1050.

V. Fitz Ste-
phen in vita
S. T. Cantuar.

the king or his ministers, were disposed to assist him in every thing he desired. The above-cited author adds, that before he departed from Paris, he gave away all his gold and silver plate, and almost all his ward-robe, in which were contained no less than four and twenty changes of garments. The magnificence he displayed in this embassy was prodigious! He had in his own family two hundred knights, with all their attendants, amounting, upon the whole number, to above a thousand persons, whom he lodged, fed, and cloathed in new and pompous apparel. Some accounts that are given of the luxury and expence of his table are incredible; but it is certain that he lived with most extraordinary splendour, and made entertainments to which the French themselves, the most elegant nation on this side of the Alps, had not been accustomed. The whole kingdom of France was filled with the renown of his immense generosity, which redounded much to the honor and service of his master.

Chron. Norm.
P. 994.

Having so successfully concluded his negociation, he would have returned into Normandy; but Louis, to express the satisfaction he felt in the union of the two families by means of this match, invited Henry to come to Paris, and receive the princess himself. The proposal was agreeable. Henry went thither, and was entertained with all the honors, that the utmost civility of those times could devise.

devise. He received them with an amiable and graceful politeness; but, as much as he could, avoided all pompous forms and ceremonies; his mind being too great, and his understanding too solid, to be fond of such pageantry, or not to be weary of it, even where it was necessary to attract the admiration and respect of the vulgar.

It is an observation of Philip de Commines that interviews between kings seldom produce good effects, but generally rather tend to lessen their friendship than to encrease it: and the reasons he gives for it are very judicious: yet here it proved otherwise, from the skill and prudence of Henry, who found the secret of pleasing the nobility and people of France, without raising any jealousy or envy in the king. Nor did the pleasures of Paris engage him so entirely, as to divert his attention from weightier matters. He not only took advantage of the good humour of Louis, to gain his approbation of the litigable title to Nantes and its earldom, which he was prosecuting against Conan, but, with the assistance of Becket, whose influence over that monarch was become very great, obtained from him a commission to go into Bretagne, and, by virtue of the office of Seneschal of France, which belonged to the earls of Anjou, judge and determine the dispute between Conan and Eudo earl of Ponticure, upon the right to that dukedom.

Gerv. Chron.
subann. 1158.

Book II.

Argentre hist.
de Bretagne,
L. iv. c. 51.
52.

The latter of these competitors had, some time before, recovered his liberty, by corrupting the Baron de Fougères, into whose hands he had yielded himself a prisoner, and who had kept him in his own custody, without delivering him to Conan: but the best part of the dutchy having submitted to that prince he retired to Paris, and soon afterwards served the king of France against the earl of Mascon, a rebellious vassal. Fortune was more favorable there to his valor: he defeated the earl, took him, prisoner, and delivered him to the king. On the merit of this service he flattered himself that Louis would support his pretensions to Bretagne, and was preparing to begin a war against Conan, at the time when this commission was granted to Henry. Conan was now in the utmost perplexity. Violent storms were apparently gathering against him on every side. Henry had already seized on his earldom of Richmond, and by denying the claim of that prince to Nantes, he might provoke him to decree in favor of Eudo. Finding therefore no safety but in obtaining his friendship, he went to him at Avranches, on the feast of St. Michael, the day appointed for the rendezvous of his forces, and made him a cession of Nantes with its whole county; soon after which Henry gave sentence in his favor, and fixed him in the dukedom. It should seem that the dispute was cognizable by Henry, as
duke

Chron. Norm.
et Argentre,
ut supra.

duke of Normandy, because Bretagne was acknowledged to be a fief of that dutchy; but it would have been easy for Eudo to find a pretence of appealing from his court to that of the king of France, as supreme lord of both countries, if the commission given to Henry, as Seneschal of the kingdom, to determine this affair in the name of the king, had not prevented all means of eluding the judgment, and made it definitive. Indeed it was wrong, while the claim of the English monarch to a province of Bretagne was depending, that he should be impowered to exercise such a jurisdiction; and, though his sentence might be just, yet, appearing to be purchased by the cession of that earldom, it had an air of injustice.

Presently after the interview between him and Conan, he went to Nantes, and took possession of it with a great army, which may have been necessary to guard him against the earl of Pontieure. Having settled every thing there he marched into Poitou, where the lord of the castle of Thouras, on some quarrel not explained in the history of those times, had thrown off his allegiance, and, probably, would have been joined by other noblemen of that province, if the king had been long detained, as they might presume he would be, by the disputes in Bretagne: but he came unexpectedly before the castle, and took it by assault the next day; which rapid success

Book II.

Chron. Norm.

ut supra.

Gerv. Chron.

subann. 1158.

put an end to the rebellion begun in those parts, before it could rise to any dangerous heighth. From thence he returned very hastily into Normandy, being recalled by his desire to attend the king of France, whom the accomplishment of some vow, or other act of devotion, brought at this time to the abbey of Mont St. Michel, a Norman town near Avranches, on the borders of Bretagne. It was of the utmost importance to Henry, in his interests on the continent, to endeavour to preserve the affection of that monarch, from which he already had drawn great advantages, and hoped to draw still greater. He therefore went to receive him on the frontiers of Normandy, nobly entertained him, with all his retinue, as long as he staid in that dutchy, waited upon him in person wheresoever he went, and conducted him back at his return into his own territories. Louis had a temper exceedingly sensible to compliments of this nature: they made him look upon Henry, not as a rival king, of whom he ought to be jealous, but as an obsequious, affectionate vassal. And, while he gave himself up to the illusion of these pleasing ideas, that able prince pursued, without any interruption, a judicious and well-connected system of measures for the continual advancement of his own greatness in the kingdom of France. Presently after this time he brought the earl of Blois to yield to him the strong castles of Fret-teval

Chron. Norm.

p. 994.

teval and Amboise, which had been usurped from Anjou, and the earl of Perche to restore two fortresses, which had belonged to his demesne in Normandy, but were unjustly taken from it, amidst the confusion that followed the death of his grandfather, King Henry the First. In return he consented that the town of Belesme should be held of him, under homage, by the last of these earls. He now had recovered, not at once, *Chron. Norm.* as he did in England, but gradually, as occasions conveniently offered, whatever had been alienated, during the late civil war, from the demesne of the dukes of Normandy: a great accession of wealth and strength, by which he was in reality no less a gainer than if he had conquered a province! Nor could he have done it without some opposition, if the friendship he had so happily cultivated with Louis had not rendered the nobility, whose grants or usurpations were thus resumed, afraid of resisting him, from a despair of support. And, considering how much the quiet of that dutchy had been disturbed, in past times, by the intrigues of the barons with the French court, the preventing of so great a mischief would have alone been a reason, why Henry should labour, while these affairs were transacting, to secure to himself the most favorable dispositions, on the part of the king of France; by the most soothing complaisance to his humour. He did so in one instance

D d 3

which

which is very remarkable, though it has not been taken notice of by any historian.

Vid. Adriani
IV, Papæ ep.
76. apud Du-
chesne, t. iv.

It appears from a letter written to that king by Pope Adrian the Fourth, that he had acquainted his Holiness with a pious intention of going into Spain, to make war on the Moors, which he was preparing to execute, instead of undertaking another crusade against the Saracens, or Turks, in the East. The same evidence likewise shews, that he had proposed the affair to Adrian, not only in his own name, but in that of the king of England, who was to accompany him in this expedition. But the pontiff very wisely advised him against it, because the Christian princes of that country had neither asked his assistance nor approved of his coming. The letter is dated the twelfth of the calends of March, but the year is not mentioned. Several reasons induce me to believe that it must have been written in the year eleven hundred and fifty nine, and that the design mentioned in it had been formed and agreed upon, between the two kings, about the latter end of the preceding autumn. For Joseph king of Morocco, the son of Abdulmumen of the race of the Almohades, having made himself master of all the Mâhometan empire in Africk, except what was subject to the Caliph of Egypt, had passed over into Spain, with a very great army in the year eleven hundred

V. l'Afrique
de Marmol.
t. i. l. ii. c. 35.
Mariana, sub
ann. 1157,
1158.

hundred and fifty seven, to aid the Moors in that country, who had submitted themselves to his government, against the arms of Alphonso, king of Castile and of Leon, whose daughter Constantia was at this time queen of France. Alphonso dying soon afterwards, his dominions were divided between his two sons. The eldest, to whom he bequeathed the kingdom of Castile, survived him only one year, and left an infant to succeed to his crown. It was then, I imagine, that Louis, being alarmed, and apparently with good reason, on account of the nonage of his nephew, thought that the circumstances of the Christians in Spain called upon him to assist them against the Moors. And he, probably, asked the aid of Henry in this war, when that prince was his guest at Paris, or rather when he went himself into Normandy; because, at that time, the disturbances in Bretagne and Poitou being quieted, and England in a state of perfect tranquility, Henry had leisure to engage in such an enterprize. It was very difficult for the latter, upon any occasion, to resist the impetuous desires of Louis: but still less could he do it in an affair of this nature, where all the enthusiasm of that monarch's zeal being kindled, he would not listen to reason, nor endure a denial without the utmost resentment. Yet, as neither the regency of the kingdom of Castile, nor the other princes of Spain, had made any application

plication to either king for succour, it seemed imprudent and absurd to force it upon them. The reason why they had not was doubtless a jealousy of letting into their country great armies of foreigners, which might in the issue be as dangerous to them as the Moors. Nor were they really so incapable of defending themselves as Louis imagined: for the forces raised by Sancho, the son of Alphonso, had vanquished the Moors in a great battle soon after his death; and the king of Morocco, discouraged by that defeat, had ceased to attack them, and turned his arms against some princes of his own religion in Spain, who refused to pay him obedience. On the other hand, the late crusade had so much exhausted France, that it could ill sustain a further waste of it's blood and treasures. Indeed a confederacy against the Moors in Spain was far from being so irrational as against the Mahometan princes in the East; because all the western Christians, but chiefly the French, and particularly the inhabitants of the dutchy of Aquitaine, had a much greater interest to drive those infidels out of that country, than out of Syria or Judæa: but, in their present weak condition, it was more adviseable to postpone such an enterprize, and leave the Moors to destroy themselves by intestine divisions. Henry was sensible of this, and had other designs in view; but he also knew that any arguments would have more weight with Louis,

Louis, if they came from the pope, than if objected by him. The season of the year, which was then approaching to winter, would not permit even the zeal of that monarch to think of passing the Pyrenian mountains. It would be necessary to defer the expedition till the spring; and, if the fervour of Louis did not abate in that interval, the crusade could not be published without the authority of the pope, from whom the protections, indulgencies, and all the other graces annexed to those enterprises, were to proceed. Henry therefore promised Louis to be his confederate: but at the same time, he relied on the prudence of Adrian to prevent the execution of so rash a design. There is great reason to believe he acquainted that pontiff with his own thoughts upon it, and secretly advised him to exhort the king of France against the undertaking: for otherwise Adrian would have written to him, as well as to Louis, on that subject, and would have used the same arguments to convince him of the unsuitness of what he proposed; but no such letter is extant. The French monarch, who considered the counsels of Rome as the oracles of God, let drop his intention, as soon as a disapprobation of it was expressed by the pope: and thus Henry, without any difficulty, or dispute with that prince, was freed from his engagement. In the mean time, he had diligently made great levies of men, in Normandy,

Normandy, Aquitaine, and all the dominions belonging to him in France; which Louis supposed were intended for the purpose of the crusade, as he himself had begun to make the like preparations. But it soon appeared that these forces had another destination.

Chron. Norm.
p. 995, 996.
Neubrigensis,
l. ii. c. 10.

Henry now avowed his resolution to revive the pretensions of his queen on the earldom of Toulouse; pretensions, which Louis himself, when husband to Eleanor, had thought well founded. For William the Eighth, duke of Aquitaine, who was grandfather to that princess, had married the daughter and heiress of the earl of Toulouse, and by that marriage the earldom was annexed to his duchy, of which, before, it had been held under homage, as a fief: but being in great want of money, on account of his engagement in the crusade, he mortgaged it to his wife's uncle, Raymond earl of St. Giles, who thereupon assumed the title of earl of Toulouse, and, the mortgage remaining unredeemed, left the earldom to his son Alphonso. But Louis, having married the heiress of Aquitaine, claimed it, in right of his wife, against that prince. The dispute however was quieted by the intervention of the Holy war, in which both Louis and Alphonso engaged. The latter died at Jerusalem, and the king, upon his return, renewed his claim against the son of Alphonso,

Alphonso, Raymond the Fifth, who, probably, would have been forced to yield the earldom to him, if, by marrying his sister Constantia, the widow of Eustace, eldest son to King Stephen, he had not amicably compounded the quarrel between them. But all the rights of the dutchy of Aquitaine being afterwards conveyed from Louis to Henry. by the marriage of the latter with the repudiated dutchess, he could not be barred from pursuing his pretensions to this earldom, whenever he might think it expedient to do so, by the acquiescence of the former claimant for reasons of his own. Yet he did not rely so much on the justice of his cause, as not to put all the force, he possibly could, on his side. He therefore confederated himself with the earls of Mompellier, of Nimes, and of Blois, who, upon former quarrels, were personal enemies to the earl of Toulouse. Raymond earl of Barcelona was disposed to join in this league, by motives of the same nature: but as he was a much greater potentate than any of the others, being possessed of Provence, and having the government of the kingdom of Arragon in right of his wife, Henry, to fix him more firmly in his interest, both now and hereafter, concluded with him a treaty, by which he betrothed Prince Richard, his second son, and then an infant, to the young princess of Arragon, daughter to Raymond, and promised to give them the dutchy of Aquitaine
when

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

Hoveden,
sub ann. 1159.
pars posterior.

when they should be of age to consummate the marriage. As soon as he had finished these negotiations in France, he returned into England a little before Easter in the year eleven hundred and fifty nine, thinking it necessary to visit that kingdom, before he began so great a war, in which he wanted the assistance of his English subjects. Being called by some affairs to the borders of Wales soon after his arrival, he held a great council, or parliament, in the city of Worcester, where he kept his Easter festival together with Eleanor, and where they both wore their crowns, as their royal predecessors had usually done on such occasions. But when they came to the oblation, they laid them down, on the altar, and vowed to wear them no more. What was the occasion of this vow we are not told: but their following actions demonstrate, that it is much easier to give up the ensigns of royalty, than the love of dominions.

The barons of England engaged chearfully in support of the king's pretensions to the earldom of Toulouse; though they might well have refused it; as it, certainly, was not a war wherein this kingdom was obliged to take any part, either by alliance or interest. Aquitaine alone was concerned in the quarrel: but all Henry's subjects were then so well affected to his person and service, that they thought his greatness their own.

Indeed, till much later times, whoever attends to the history of England will constantly find, that when a king governed well, and knew how to keep himself on good terms with his barons, they were but too ready to assist him in any foreign wars, even of ambition and conquest. The cause of this may be found in the temper and circumstances of our ancient nobility, who, being illiterate, and ignorant of those elegancies of life which embellish and enliven a peaceful state, and finding that military merit, both by the notions of the times and institutions of the government, would most advance their reputation and fortunes, were always inclined to draw their swords in the quarrels of their sovereign, if they did not draw them against him. But besides this general inclination, it has often been observed, during the course of this work, how much our nobles were influenced in their political conduct. by the siefs that many of them held in those parts of France which were subject to our kings. This influence must have encreased in the reign of Henry the Second, whose power abroad was so much greater than that of his ancestors. It is no wonder therefore that he was able to engage the barons of England, and all his military tenants, to assist him in this war. Nor does it seem that the policy of those times ever regarded his dominions upon the French continent as prejudicial to England. Those which were
maritime

maritime provinces (and most of them were so) appeared very commodious to the English, on account of their trade; especially Normandy and Bretagne; which, lying opposite to their coasts, secured to that nation the sovereignty of the whole British ocean. And this advantage arose from all his French territories, that while so large a portion of that kingdom was under his government, France had much more to fear from England than England from France. For all these reasons his English subjects were more inclined to urge him on to an attempt of this nature, than to oppose or restrain him. All his nobility followed him to this expedition with incredible ardor: and (what was more extraordinary) Malcolm, the young king of Scotland, attended on him in person; the first time, and the last, that any monarch of that nation ever fought under an English banner against the French! About the middle of summer, in the year eleven hundred and fifty nine, the confederate troops were assembled from all parts in Guienne, and composed such an army, as seemed more than sufficient to subdue all the territories of the earl of Toulouse, if the king of France remained neutral. Those territories indeed were much more extensive than the district which at present belongs to that city: for they comprehended the Quercy and almost all Languedoc. Yet though the power of this earldom was very considerable, it

it was not equal to the force which Henry had drawn from his own dominions in France; much less when that force was increased by the assistance of such potent confederates, and by a formidable army brought over from England. The only valid defence, which could be opposed by the earl to an enemy so superior, was the aid of Louis, his sovereign. But Henry had been so dextrous, as to prevail on that monarch, to promise him that he would take no part in this quarrel: and, from the ascendant he had gained in all his counsels, he believed he might rely, with the utmost security, on the performance of an engagement so agreeable to the tenour of his past conduct. But the pathetick remonstrances of the earl of Toulouse roused the good king from his lethargy. He represented to him, with all the eloquence of grief and indignation, that his best friends were sacrificed to his connections with Henry, who, under the name of a vassal and the mask of a friend, was his most dangerous enemy; who already was possessed of the better half of his realm; and whom he never could satisfy by any concessions; since ambition, like avarice, increases by its gains. That none of his vassals would any longer hope protection from him, if he gave up his own brother-in-law to the violence of that prince: and that very hard would be the fate of his sister Constantia, if, after having seen the dutchy of Normandy

V. Fitz-Stephen in vita
S.T. Cantuar.

Normandy torn from her first husband, and given by her brother himself to Henry, who had likewise deprived the family, into which she had married, of the kingdom of England, she should also behold her second husband despoiled of his territories, by the same encroaching hand; and this too with the consent of a brother whom she loved, and whose affection she had never deserved to lose, by any fault on her part.

The good nature of Louis could not be insensible to these complaints; nor could he deny that the strongest reasons of prudence and policy called upon him to restrain the ambition of Henry from more acquisitions in France. The motions of his mind were always sudden and violent; and, when once he was heated, he considered no difficulties, and knew no fear. Following therefore the impulse communicated to him by Raymond, he not only resolved to assist him against Henry, but, before that monarch had begun the siege of Toulouse, threw himself into the city, with only a few soldiers, resolving to defend it to the utmost extremity, and regardless of the danger, to which, by his temerity, he exposed his own person, and, together with that, the whole kingdom. Henry, who had too confidently depended on his promise to observe a neutrality, was much surprised and embarrassed upon receiving this news. Being doubtful how to act,

act, he desired to hear the opinions of his council. Becket advised him to march, without a moment's delay, and assault Toulouse, which, the garrison being weak and insufficient to defend it, might be easily taken, and with it a more important and more glorious prize, the person of Louis himself, who had so imprudently thrown himself into it without an army. But others of the council objecting, that it would be too enormous, and too criminal a violation of the feudal allegiance, for a vassal to take and hold in captivity the person of his Lord, the chancellor answered, *That the king of France had then laid down the person of Henry's liege lord, when, against the engagements and conventions between them, he had opposed himself to him as an enemy*; and therefore he treated the scruple as vain and groundless. This opinion was agreeable to the spirit and fire of his character; and if the measure he advised had proved successful, it would have added greatly to the glory and renown of his master. The pride of the English nation would have been infinitely pleased with seeing a king of France taken prisoner by their sovereign, and brought into England. No equal triumph had yet graced the annals of that kingdom; and no people in the whole universe are naturally more sensible to any encrease of their national honor than the English. These were strong reasons for agreeing to the advice of Becket; but others,

V. Fitz-Stephen in vita S.T. Cantuar. Johann. in Quadrilo. c. 9.



of no small weight, were urged against it. Considering the number of the fiefs held under Henry, it was highly for his interest, that the feudal principle of an awful reverence, on the part of the vassal, for the person of his Lord, should by no means be weakened. His own security depended so much upon it, that it was very impolitical for him to set an example of distinguishing it away by particular casuistry, and subtilties of argument, which, on other occasions, might be turned against him by his vassals. But further, it was very doubtful, whether the other princes and peers of France would see the affair in the same lights as Becket saw it, or allow his reasoning to be valid. If they did not; if they considered the offence done by Henry against the person of his Lord as an act of high treason, which could not be justified by the circumstances of the case, he had much to fear from their resentment. Louis, though not highly esteemed, was beloved by his vassals. Many of them, who would not intermeddle in the quarrel between the duke of Aquitaine and the earl of Toulouse, might take up arms to free their king, and the supreme lord of their fiefs, from an ignominious captivity. Indeed a general league of all the princes and peers of France for the deliverance of Louis, and for restraining the too formidable power of Henry, was to be then apprehended. The latter, in such a case, could not depend even on those who

were now his confederates: and thus the war might end, at last, with great detriment to him, by separating from him those friends and allies whom he had laboured to gain; and perhaps by the confiscation of all the territories he held of the crown of France. But there was still a further reason, which, added to the foregoing, might possibly turn the scale in this deliberation. Louis had no issue male: his daughters by Eleanor were virtually illegitimated by her divorce: his present queen had not bred for three years past: if he should happen to die without a son, the princess Margaret, espoused to the young prince of England, would be heiress to his kingdom in the course of descent. Whether the Salick law, or the ancient customs of the French nation, would bar that right of succession, and give a preference to the uncle before the daughter, was a question not yet decided; and more likely to receive its determination from the arms of those who were interested in the dispute, than from the opinions of lawyers. When so great a portion of France, as the dutchy of Aquitaine, was allowed to descend to a woman, and to be governed by her husband, that precedent might be naturally extended to the whole; especially, as the husband of Margaret, being heir to so many territories within that realm, might well be regarded as a Frenchman. The great power and interest, which Henry had there, with the whole force of England to

V. P. Daniel
Histoire de
France, sup
ann. 1158.

assist him in the contest, might very probably get the better of all opposition from her uncles, and enable that prince to make his son and daughter-in-law king and queen of France. There was something in this idea very flattering to a mind so ambitious as his; but to give it any solidity, it was necessary to avoid, with all possible care, whatever might alarm or offend the French, and above all things to be cautious, that no opportunity should be given to Robert earl of Dreux, the king's brother, to put himself at the head of any considerable party, and get the government of the kingdom into his hands. Now, if Louis should be taken prisoner, that earl would probably be made regent, and in that situation it would not be difficult for him, finding his countrymen exasperated and incensed against Henry, to bring the nation to settle the succession on him, in case of the death of Louis without a son. This consideration, therefore, together with those before-mentioned, determined Henry to reject the counsel of Becket, specious and tempting as it was. For, though we are told by some writers, it was a saying of his, *That the whole world is no more than sufficient for one great man*, the schemes he pursued to promote his greatness were always guided by the sober dictates of policy and prudence. Not even the advice of a favorite, whose opinion had the highest authority with him, could induce him to sacrifice a right plan of conduct

to

V. G. Camb.
et Brompton's
Chron. p.
1044.

to the triumph of a day; but, notwithstanding the great vivacity and warmth of his temper, he had patience to wait for that glory, which is the certain but slow result of a series of wise, systematical measures. Instead therefore of hastening to lay siege to Toulouse, while Louis remained in that city, he declared his resolution, that, *out of respect to the person of that king, he would not besiege it*. But against all the territories of Earl Raymond, except his capital only, he held himself at liberty to make war, and made it with all his usual alacrity: so that in less than three months he conquered the greater part of the earldom of Toulouse, and took Cahors, the capital of the Quercy, with many other castles and strong places. Nor did Louis oppose him in any of these enterprizes, contenting himself with securing the city of Toulouse, first by his own presence there, and afterwards by a numerous body of forces, which he brought into it and left there, besides repairing and augmenting the fortifications. But his brothers, the earl of Dreux and the bishop of Beauvais, had, by his orders, made some ravages on the frontiers of Normandy. At the same time Henry sent home the earl of Blois, to attack the royal domain in the parts about Orleans; which obliging the king to provide for the defence of that country, he could not act very powerfully against the duchy of Normandy, or in aid of earl Raymond. No exploit of great importance was done on that

V. Neubrig.

l. ii. c. 10.

Dicet. imag.

Hist. sub ann.

1159.

Chr. Brompt.

p. 1051.

Chron. Norm.

p. 995, 996,

997.

V. Fitz Ste-

phen in vita

S. T. Cantuar.

et Johan. in

Quadrilogo,

c. 9.

V. Neubrig. et

auctores

cit. ut supra.

V. Fitz Stephen in vita
S.T. Cantuar.
et Johann. in
Quadrilogo,
c. 9, 10.
V. Neubrig.
l. ii. c. 10.
Diceto imag.
Hist. sub ann.
1159.
Chr. Brompt.
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p. 995, 996,
997.

side by either party, through the whole course of the summer, or during the months of August and September: but about the beginning of October, Henry, having repaired the fortifications of Cahors to cover and secure his conquests in Languedoc, committed it to the custody of his chancellor, Becket, and leaving his allies, the earls of Barcelona, Montpellier and Nîmes, to continue the war in the earldom of Toulouse, returned with the main body of his own troops into Normandy; from whence, after he had given some repose to his soldiers, he made an incursion into the Beauvoisis, took Gerberoi, a strong fortress, and burnt it to the ground, excepting one tower, which the flame and smoke of the buildings, that had been fired round about it hindered his men from approaching. He also destroyed many villages and farms of that country, in revenge of the cruel devastations, which the bishop of Beauvais had made on the borders of Normandy.

Thus were his arms in all places victorious; but, while he was carrying on these warlike operations, he gained no less by intrigues. For, in consequence of a secret treaty, concluded with Simon de Montfort, earl of Evesreux, he prevailed upon that lord to receive Norman garrisons into three of his towns, Montford l'Amauri, Epernon, and Rochefort; by which he entirely cut off the communication of Paris with Estampes and with Orleans.

Orleans. This was an advantage of great consequence! Louis, who felt himself extremely distressed by it, and perhaps was touched with the extraordinary mark of respect, which Henry had shewn him, inclined to peace; an inclination, the latter was ever disposed to comply with, for the reasons abovementioned, and more especially at this time, when the season of the year made it necessary for him to draw his forces, which had been greatly fatigued, into winter quarters. A truce was therefore concluded, which was to last from Christmas till eight days after Whitsunday; and in the mean while negotiations for peace were carried on with success. Becket was, undoubtedly, the chief negociator on the part of King Henry, whose favor he had gained more absolutely than ever, by great services in this war, not only as a counsellor, but as a soldier and a leader. For he brought into the field seven hundred knights, all of his own household. And it must be observed, that every one of these was attended by a squire. The writers of Becket's life affirm, that a great number of barons and knights of England did homage to him, which he received with a reserve of their fealty to the king, and thereupon gave them his protection and patronage. They also tell us, that many noblemen, not only of England, but of the neighbouring countries, sent their children to be educated, and trained to chivalry, in

V. Fitz-Stephen in vita |
S.T. Cantuar.
et Johann. in
Quadrilogo,
c. 9, 10.

V. Auctores
citatos ut
supra.

his family, and under his discipline. It is no wonder, therefore, that he was able to lead so numerous a band to this expedition; and we are assured, they were esteemed the bravest soldiers in all the king's army, charging first, and daring most in every engagement. Nor was the chancellor himself less forward than they. When the king went into Normandy, he was left in the Quercy, to defend Cahors and the other conquests made in that province; but he did more: he took by storm, at the head of his troops, three castles in those parts, which were accounted impregnable, and for that reason had been left unattempted by Henry. He also passed the Garonne, and made inroads into the earldom of Toulouse on the other side of the river. After performing these services, he left his household forces to garrison the forts he had taken, as well as those which the king had committed to his custody, and rejoined that prince in Normandy: but he did not go thither unattended: for he hired at his own charges twelve hundred knights, and four thousand stipendiaries of an inferior degree, to serve under him there forty days. The knights not only received from him a very liberal pay, but were constantly fed at his expence, and many of them at his table. During this part of his warfare, he engaged, in single combat, Engelran de Trie, a French knight, very famous for his valour, dismounted him with

with his lance, and gained his horse, which he led off in great triumph. It was not very decent for an *archdeacon of Canterbury* to distinguish himself by such exploits. The canons of the church were strong against it; but those canons were disregarded by many of the bishops; and Becket had so passionate a desire of glory, that he sought it in all ways, and among all sorts of persons. Besides, he knew that the king's temper would incline that prince to esteem and love him the more for this military merit; a sympathy of Character being the strongest bond of affection. And, had he been only of use to his master in the cabinet, another might, in the field, have acquired such an influence, as he could not afterwards have removed.

From the conclusion of the truce in December eleven hundred and fifty nine, till May the next year, nothing of consequence was done, either by Louis or Henry: but in that month they concluded a treaty of peace, the terms of which were advantageous and honorable to Henry: for he retained all his conquests, except some towns and castles in Languedoc, which he restored to his ally the earl of Nîmes, from whom they had been unjustly and violently taken by the earl of Toulouse. All that had belonged to the earldom of Poitou, and all its *rights* were confirmed to him, except the city of Toulouse, and so much of that province as he had

Chron. Norm.
P. 997.
Neubrig. l. ii.
c. 10.

See the treaty
in the appendix.

Book II.

Chron. Norm.
p. 996.

See the treaty
in the Appen-
dix.

had not yet subdued : nor did he relinquish his claim even to these, but only granted to the earl a truce of one year ; and it is expressed in the treaty, that this concession was made out of affection to Louis, and with a saving of Henry's *honor* (by which I understand the homage due from the earl) and of his own rights and those of his heirs and successors. Thus did he gain the greater part of the territories which before the war had been enjoyed by the earl of Toulouse ; and he had good reason to hope, that time would enable him to acquire the remainder. The earl of Evreux was secured, by an article of the treaty, against any effects of the resentment of Louis on account of the assistance he had given to Henry ; and certain rights, which he claimed, were stipulated for him. Some of the other confederates, and even those who were vassals to Henry, were left at full liberty to continue the war against the earl of Toulouse ; only it was agreed, that they should receive no assistance from the former, till the expiration of the truce which he had made with the earl. There was moreover another part of this treaty very beneficial to that king. For he was empowered by it to take possession of the whole Norman Vexin, with Gisors and the other castles belonging thereunto in *three years* from the next feast of the Virgin Mary's Assumption, *for the use and benefit of his son, as a marriage portion given to him with the daughter*

daughter of Louis. And even *within that time*, if the prince of England should *espouse* the said princess, *with the consent of the church*, the said province and castles were to be delivered to Henry for the use of his son. Three great fiefs of the Norman Vexin were also secured to that monarch by this treaty, even if the princess should die before the term there assigned; in which case it was agreed that the rest of the province should be restored to her father. The castles, in the mean while, were to remain in the custody of the knights templars, according to the tenour of the former convention, which had been concluded by Becket, when the match was agreed upon, in the year eleven hundred and fifty eight. These stipulations opened to Henry a much nearer prospect of obtaining the Vexin, than he had by that convention, besides the cession made to him of the three fiefs abovementioned, in all events. For it might well have been doubted, whether the ceremony of an espousal, before the parties were of an age to consummate the marriage, would be sufficient to authorize the delivery of that province into his hands, according to the intention of the former agreement. And, if he had been to wait for it till the prince and princess were marriageable, the delay would have been much longer than the term of three years prescribed by this treaty. Whereas he had now a clear right even to shorten that term.

Upon

Upon the whole there was no cause for his being much discontented with the issue of the war, though he had not gained all that he proposed to himself when first he undertook it. The charge indeed had been great, but there is reason to believe, that it did not diminish his treasures, having been supplied by the *scutage* which he levied in England and his other dominions. It is observable, that the first mention we meet with in history of this imposition on knights-fees, which became afterwards very frequent, is upon this occasion. Henry the Second appears to have been the inventor of it: at least he was the first who brought it into England. It was a commutation for the duty of personal service *in foreign wars*; and those upon whom it was charged contributed then to the expence of such wars, in much the same manner as landholders do now, but with less inequality. The inferior military tenants were eased, by being freed from the obligation of following their lords a great way from their homes, according to the original condition of their tenures; and the service was better done, by the soldiers hired with the money which this imposition produced; because they were not entitled, like those for whom they served, to a discharge at the end of forty days, nor were they so intractable to martial discipline, as most of the others. Mercenary forces were thus introduced into the armies of England, designed

signed to serve *abroad*, instead of vassals by knight-service, though still connected with, and dependant on the military tenures; and there seems to have been an absolute necessity for it, to answer the exigence of the many foreign wars which the English were engaged in after the entrance of the Normans, and especially under the family of the Plantagenets; the feudal militia being fitter for the defence of the kingdom, than for expeditions into countries very remote from their dwellings.

The scutage levied in England for the war of Toulouse was a hundred and fourscore thousand pounds; which, computing the quantity of silver contained in those pounds, and the value thereof in those days, compared with the present, is equal to two millions seven hundred thousand pounds sterling. Yet, considering the distance of Toulouse from England, the liberty of paying this sum, instead of going thither, was a very great ease to the military tenants.

See note on
the value of
money.

It was, I presume, with the advice and consent of the parliament, which Henry held at Worcester before he set out on this enterprize, that he made this alteration in the terms of knight-service, which was continued for many centuries after his reign. He never neglected to consult with that assembly on proper occasions, and this was most

most proper : nor can we reasonably suppose that he would strain his prerogative, to introduce such a novelty without their concurrence, when he might be certain to obtain it with a general satisfaction. It may be therefore presumed that a parliamentary sanction was given, in the abovementioned council, to this new method of commuting for the duty of foreign service, and to the payment of such a commutation for this particular war : but it seems that the assessment was then left to the king : whereas we find it declared, by the charter of King John, that scutages ought to be assessed by the tenants in chief of the crown assembled in parliament. The reason of this alteration, was, I suppose, the oppressions, which, under the government of that prince and of Richard the First, their tenants had suffered by arbitrary assessments. But those made by this king are referred to in the charters of Henry the Third, as the best rule to be followed.

Hoveden,
pars ii. sub
ann. 1159.
Chron. Norm.
p. 996.

During the course of the war with the earl of Toulouse, as Henry returned out of Languedoc into Normandy, William de Bleis, who, with the other barons of his realm, had served him in that enterprize, fell sick and died. The only one of the late king's legitimate offspring, that now remained alive, was his daughter Mary, a nun, and abbess of Rumsey in Hampshire. It seemed to be the interest of Henry to let her continue



continue in this state, that the lawful posterity of Stephen might be wholly extinct; which would more absolutely secure the house of Plantagenet against the possibility of any dispute, in times to come, concerning their right to the crown: but views of present advantage inclined him to overlook this consideration. Of all the potentates on the continent, except the king of France, there was none who could benefit or hurt him so much, as his uncle, the earl of Flanders. He had discharged with great fidelity the trust reposed in him, as guardian of Flanders, and of Philip, the earl's eldest son, during the time that the earl remained in the east. This was unquestionably a most endearing obligation conferred on those princes: yet he wished to oblige them still more, by extending his favors to Philip's younger brother, who wanted an establishment greater than the appanage his father could give him. Nothing appeared so proper for him as the earldom of Boulogne, which lying contiguous to his father's dominions, and being very considerable in it's commerce and maritime power, would add not a little to the strength of the family, as well as advance his own fortune. This province indeed was a fief of the earldom of Flanders; but the earl could not give it in any other manner than according to the established rule of succession: and his son had no title to it, unless he gained one by a marriage with the daughter

daughter of Stephen. The lady herself was desirous of quitting the veil, either having taken it against her will, or finding by experience that vows of celibacy are kept with more difficulty than they are made. The ecclesiastical laws opposed her inclinations: but princes might, on some occasions, dispense with those laws; and the death of her brother without issue had so essentially altered her circumstances, from what they had been at the time when she engaged in a monastic life, that she might now, with good reason, and no appearance of levity, retract that engagement. The papal power could release her, and to that she would certainly have applied for relief: but Pope Adrian having died a little before the decease of her brother, in the year eleven hundred and fifty nine, a double election had caused a schism, which was yet undecided. It was by no means adviseable to wait till the end of it; for some prince of the house of Blois would before that time have made good his claim to the earldom. This Henry feared, and moreover he was glad of such an opportunity to serve the two families of Flanders and of Blois. He therefore consented that the lady should be stolen from her convent, and conveyed out of England; which was accordingly done, and the marriage was consummated in the month of May of the year eleven hundred and sixty. Becket opposed it, on account of the scandal and offence to religion;

Diceto, sub.
ann. 1159.

Idem, sub
ann. 1160.
Chron. Norm.
p. 997.
Heribertus in
Quadril. et
vita Thomæ
Becket.

religion; in which instance, and in that alone, he appears to have acted upon the same principles, while he was chancellor, as he afterwards did, when archbishop of Canterbury. But this opposition was fruitless: for, though he was first in Henry's favor, the mind of that king was too great and royal, to let his judgment be subjected to the authority of a servant. Nor did he see any reason for his being more scrupulous in such an affair than his uncle the earl of Flanders, who certainly did not oppose, but, in all probability, desired and solicited this match for his son, though he was renowned for his piety above any prince of that age.

In consequence of the decease of William of Blois, Henry had also the means of making an ample provision for Hamelin, his natural brother, by marrying him to the widow of that prince, who was daughter to William of Warren. She brought to her second husband the earldom of Surry, with all the other honors and possessions of her father in England and Normandy: possessions so great, that, without alarming the jealousy of the crown, they could not have been added to the wealth of any other noble family; especially, as the lady to whom they had descended, was very near allied in blood to the kings of France and of Scotland. It was therefore, not only from affection to his brother, but from the maxims of good policy

Chron. Norm.
p. 999, sub
ann. 1163.

and reason of state, that Henry interested himself in this match.

He had but just accommodated his quarrel with Louis about Toulouse, when the attention of both of them was called to a business, which divided the whole Latin church, the double election of the cardinals Octavian and Orlando to the Roman pontificate. A great majority of the sacred college had voted for Orlando, who took the name of Alexander the Third; but yet his election was liable to many objections. Octavian, who called himself Victor the Fourth, had the protection of the emperor Frederick the First, surnamed Barbarossa. For what

V. Radevic.
de reb. gestis
Frederic. I.
Imperat. I. ii.
p. 318, ad 323,
et 328, ad 335.
Act. Alexand.
apud Baron.

reasons he had it we are told in a letter from the bishop of Bamburgh to the archbishop of Saltzburg, "It appeared (says the former prelate) that, before the election, Orlando himself, and the cardinals of his party, had conspired with the king of Sicily and other enemies of the empire; having even bound themselves with an oath, which seemed very repugnant to the sound Christian doctrine, inasmuch as it absolved the subjects of the emperor from their oaths of fidelity, and forbad all persons to pay him any obedience." We find, by another letter, written about the same time, that they took this oath in the presence of Adrian the Fourth, a little before his decease, and also swore, that, whenever the see should become vacant,

V. Radev. ut
supra, l. ii.
c. 71.
Idem ibidem.
c. 52.

vacant, they would not elect any pope, except one of their party, and who should be under the same engagements. Well, therefore, might Frederick incline to dispute the election of Orlando, and favor his adversary; especially as the latter had been always of the imperial faction. Many emperors of Germany, his predecessors, had not only exercised a right of confirming, but even of electing, or nominating, the bishops of Rome. In the year of our Lord nine hundred and sixty three, Otho the First obliged the Roman people and Pope Leo the Eighth to yield to him that privilege, which was constantly maintained by his son and his grandson, though not without occasioning many tumults and seditions. After the death of the latter, the imperial authority diminished in Rome, and the people resumed the election of the popes, together with the clergy, till, most intolerable disorders and scandals arising from the ill use they were found to make of their power, the emperor Henry the Third, surnamed the Black, took it from them again, and nominated successively four popes, who were Germans. But, during the minority of his son, Henry the Fourth, Nicholas the Second, encroaching on the prerogative of that prince, made a new constitution, whereby the cardinal bishops were first to consult about the election of a pope, then to call in the cardinal priests, and, thirdly, the inferior clergy and the

V. Luitprand.
c. 2.

Platina in vit.
Benedict. IX.
et Gregor. VI.
Otho Frising.
l. vi. ad ann.
p. 140.

Onuphrius
in chronico.
Dist. 23. C.
in Nom.
Father Paul,
of beneficiary
matters, c. 23.

people of Rome, for their consent, *saving the honor and reverence due to the emperor.* These last words preserved indeed to the emperor the right of confirmation; though not so explicitly as he might have desired: but Alexander the Second having been chosen according to this constitution, Henry, in order to signify his resentment thereof, refused to confirm that election, and named to the papacy the bishop of Parma, upon the recommendation of Gerard his chancellor. Nevertheless on the death of that minister, about three years afterwards, he consented to depose the bishop of Parma and acknowledge Pope Alexander, who made him a most ungrateful return for that favor. But Gregory the Seventh, succeeding to the papacy after the decease of that pontiff, not only attempted to take from the emperors all share whatsoever in the elections of popes, but in those of all other clergymen; judging that he should better be able to support the claim of his see, by making it the general cause of the church. This contest continued during more than half a century, under six pontiffs, who maintained it, not only with their spiritual weapons, but by exciting the most horrid rebellions and treasons, and arming the son against the father, as well as the subject against the sovereign. Nor were the emperors easily vanquished in a quarrel of such importance. Near fourscore battles were fought, in defence of their authority,

See Father Paul of beneficiary matters, c. 23, 24.

authority, by Henry the Fourth and Henry the Fifth, before the agreement of the latter with Pope Calixtus the Second, in the year eleven hundred and twenty two: and even that was made with such temperaments, as preserved to him some of his ancient prerogatives in all elections of bishops, except those of the popes; but from them he and his successors were after this time entirely excluded. And in consequence of a quarrel between Innocent the Second and the people of Rome, that pontiff deprived these also of the right of election.

A. Abb. Ufpergens. in Chron. feb. ann. 1122. Father Paul, c. 24. Onuphr. Annot. ad vit. Innocent.

The emperor Frederick Barbarossa, one of the greatest and bravest that ever had ascended the imperial throne, was now struggling to assert so much of the power his predecessors had lost, as, in the extraordinary case of a double election, to give the preference to that cardinal who was of his party, against one who was openly leagued with his enemies. He did not pretend any right to determine this cause by his own single authority, knowing that the times would not bear it; but called a general council at Pavia, to which he invited the bishops, not only of Germany and of Italy, but of all Europe, and cited to it both popes, with the cardinals of each party. Victor obeyed, but Alexander refused; denying that the emperor had power to call a council without his consent, or to summon him to appear in his presence,

Redev. ut sup. c. 54, 55, 56, 71. Act. Alexand. apud Baron.

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presence, as if he had any authority over him. "Christ (he said) had given to St. Peter and his successors the privilege of judging all cases wherein the church was concerned; which right the see of Rome had always preserved, and had never submitted to any other judgment." This was not only begging the question in dispute, that he was the rightful successor of St. Peter, but arrogating to his see such prerogatives, as all history contradicted no less than the gospel, and such as had never been acknowledged by any emperor. Besides, it was evident, that, if these pretensions were admitted, it would be impossible to end a schism between two popes; since each might equally plead this privilege of exemption from all other judgment, and would be sure to pass sentence in favor of himself. But as Victor came, and submitted his cause to the council, it gave a reasonable prejudice in his behalf, his adversary was censured as guilty of contumacy; and, after a proper examination of witnesses, he was declared to have been duly elected. Frederick took care to prevent any objection against this decision, on account of it's being made by the secular power; for he confined the examination and judgment of the cause to the ecclesiasticks alone. There were present in the council about fifty bishops, besides a great number of abbots and other dignified clergymen; but all Italians, or subjects of the empire. The kings
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of Bohemia and Denmark, with almost all the princes of the empire, attended in person, and subscribed to the determination in favor of Victor. The king of Hungary declared his assent to it by his ambassadors. The kings of France and of England had also ministers in the council: but the former of these refused to engage himself any further, than not to acknowledge either Alexander, or Victor, as pope, till he should receive a fuller information of the merits of the cause by ambassadors from the emperor; and the latter declared, that in this, and all other affairs, his conduct should be conformable to that of the king of France. Louis, before the council was assembled, had paid him the same compliment with regard to this question: and indeed it was for their mutual interest not to disagree on such a point: as their difference would have produced a schism in France, which must have been very troublesome and hurtful to both. The French monarch was strongly urged to determine for Alexander, by all the power that his queen, who was zealous for that pontiff, had over his mind, and by the persuasions of much the major part of his clergy, whose inclinations he was always disposed rather to follow than lead. A jealousy of encreasing the greatness of the emperor, by giving him a pope devoted to his interests, might have also some share in prejudicing the judgment of this prince and his subjects.

V. Radevic.
c. 54, 55, 56.
71.
Act. Alexand.
apud Baron.

Alexan. epist.
17, apud Duchesne, t. ix.

Book II.

V. Arnulph.
epist. ad Alex.

V. Joan. Sarisb. epist. 44.
48, 63.

against any evidence on the side of Victor. But the young earl of Champagne, who had much credit with him, and was related to Victor, kept him, some time, in suspense. Henry had received very early impressions in favor of Alexander, from the bishop of Lisieux, a man of excellent parts, and one whose counsels he chiefly listened to in ecclesiastical matters. Nevertheless the regard he owed to the emperor, his friend and ally, made him desirous to proceed with great reserve, and a decent shew of deliberation, in this affair. Nor would he act therein without the entire concurrence of Louis, whose irresolution continued several months. During this interval the archbishop of Canterbury pressed him most vehemently to acknowledge Pope Alexander, by several letters, which, being sick at that time, he wrote by the hand of John of Salisbury, his secretary, who afterwards became very busy and factious in all the ecclesiastical affairs of this reign. But no solicitations, or importunities, even from his best friends, could drive the king to precipitate his measures, in a matter of this delicate nature. He prudently restrained the zeal of that prelate till he had conferred with the chancellor of the empire, who immediately after the dissolution of the council of Pavia, in the month of February of this year eleven hundred and sixty, had been sent to him and the king of France, to acquaint them with the reasons

reasons upon which that council had acted in acknowledging Victor, and endeavour to obtain their concurrence. The ambassador came, and was patiently heard by both kings, but prevailed upon neither. As soon as Henry had concluded the peace with Louis, he founded his inclinations with regard to this question, and helped to fix them in behalf of Alexander. I shall hereafter give some reasons why he ought rather to have assisted the earl of Champagne in serving Victor. But being drawn in by the torrent, which run very strong the other way, both in England and his French dominions, he used his utmost endeavours to induce the king of France to make the same choice; of which he had soon afterwards great cause to repent.

Chron. Norm. 997.

V. Petri Blesensis epist. ad Celest. III. Papam, 144.

It was privately agreed between the two kings, that as a foundation for them to proceed upon, in deciding this dispute, each should separately take the sense of the clergy within his own territories; and a council was accordingly held by Louis at Beauvais; Henry at the same time holding one at his town of Neufmarché in Normandy, by both which assemblies Alexander's election was supposed to be good. The sentiments of the Gallican church having been thus declared for that pontiff, Henry empowered the archbishop of Canterbury to call a council in England, and send him their opinion on

V. Joan. Sa-
rist. epist. 44.
59
Ejusdem
epist. 64, 65.

V. epist. 64.

on the merits of the question. Theobald obeyed very joyfully; and, though we are told, that some of the English clergy, particularly the bishops of Durham and Winchester, inclined to Victor, yet they thought it adviseable to concur with their brethren in favoring Alexander, the king's disposition to give him the preference being well understood. The words of the primate, in his letter to Henry on this occasion, are remarkable. He says that "the council had not *passed any judgment* upon the matter proposed to them, nor had they *decreed* any thing about it in prejudice to the majesty of the crown; *as it would have been contrary to their duty to do so*: but they had lawfully and dutifully given that *advice* which he had required of them by his royal mandate." From hence it may be inferred, that, in the commission which the king had sent to this prelate, care had been taken to secure his royal prerogative against any encroachment on the part of the clergy, though he graciously condescended to ask their advice: and, considering the pretensions of the church in that age, an archbishop of Canterbury's acknowledging this right of the crown, in terms so explicit and so full of respect, was a great instance of moderation.

But though the kings of France and England, by these national synods, had enabled themselves to alledge the sense of their clergy,

clergy, in answer to the emperor's solicitations in favor of Victor, they thought it expedient, before they would finally and absolutely declare their own resolutions, to hear what the legates, sent by both the competitors, who were ordered to attend them in a more solemn and more general council, which was to assemble at Toulouse, could say on the subject. The legates arrived there in November this year; but, from several incidents intervening, the council was not held till some time in the autumn of the following year, eleven hundred and sixty one. Louis and Henry, with the ambassadors of the emperor and of all the Spanish kings, were then present in it, before whom the cause was debated by the legates on either side; and the cardinal of Pavia, deputed by Alexander, pleaded for him so well, that the council unanimously confirmed his election. It must, however, be confessed, that this cardinal's eloquence was heard with as favorable ears by his audience, as the harangue of Victor had been by the council of Pavia; and all these grave deliberations really meant nothing more, than to furnish the princes who were at the head of each party with a plausible appearance of being convinced of what they were before determined to believe. The emperor, with the whole empire, and all the northern kings, continued unmoved in their attachment to Victor, for whom they procured a decree of

Labbeus, t. x.
concil. p.
1406.
Neubrigens.
l. ii. c. 9.
P. Daniel hist.
de France,
p. 407.
Duchefne.
epist. 431,
t. iv.

V. Othon.
Mordna in
Chronico.

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another general council, assembled at Lodi in opposition to this of Toulouse. And both these meetings concluded with thundering out sentences of excommunication against the pope of the other faction and all his adherents. Nothing can exceed the rancour and bitterness, which appear in many of the letters written during those times, by clergymen and monks of either party, against their opponents; and they were but too powerful to inspire the same passions into the laity, whose consciences they directed with an absolute dominion. This schism was followed by a long war in Italy, between the emperor and the adherents of Alexander there, which I shall have occasion to say more of hereafter.

While Louis and Henry were thus busied in chusing a pope, there had happened other events of great importance, which entirely altered the state of their civil affairs. About the end of September in the year eleven hundred and sixty, the queen of France died in child-bed of a second daughter, who, surviving her mother, was named Adelaïs. The lords of the council, much desiring a male heir to the crown, exhorted the king to marry again without delay. He made so much haste to comply with their advice and his own inclinations, that disregarding all decency, in less than a fortnight after the death of his wife, he married a sister of the
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earl

earl of Champagne. That prince and his brothers, the earls of Blois and Sancerre, were, by means of this alliance, advanced to greater power in the kingdom of France; and as Henry was assured that they were very malevolent to him, though one of them had occasionally confederated with him in the war of Toulouse, it alarmed him to see them brought so near to the throne. Indeed the death of Constantia was in many respects unfortunate for him. He had always found her a warm and useful friend. The new queen might be an enemy; and, from his knowledge of Louis, he might naturally fear, that a change in the bed of that monarch would be followed by a change in his council. These considerations affected him with no little uneasiness. The peace concluded in May had not been ratified till October, a few days before this marriage was celebrated. On that occasion the prince of England did homage to the king of France for the dutchy of Normandy; which seems to imply that a cession had been actually made, or at least an intention declared by Henry at this time, and confirmed by this act, of resigning to him those territories when he should be of full age. Probably, Louis, whose daughter he was to marry, might desire this cession; as the heir to the crown of England had not in those days any principality, dukedom, or other royal appanage, assigned to

Chron. Norm.
 P. 997.

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to him in that kingdom. And perhaps some dispute upon this matter was the cause that the ratification of the peace had so long been delayed, though we do not find any mention thereof in the treaty. However this may have been, it looked unfavorable to the concord, restored at this meeting, that Henry departed from thence, without seeing the celebration of the king's nuptials; a ceremony, which he would undoubtedly have graced with his presence, if his dislike of the match had not got the better of his usual complaisance, and made him shew the court of France a little too plainly, that he could not forget the dead queen so soon as her husband.

Upon his return into Normandy, he judged it adviseable to take such measures, as might secure him against the consequences of that alteration in the dispositions of Louis, which he prudently foresaw from this alliance. To put his son's marriage with the eldest princess of France beyond all dispute was his first care. A mere verbal contract might possibly be revoked, and the lady demanded back from Robert de Neubourg, justiciary of Normandy, who had the custody of her, if those who governed her father should make him wish to dispose of her in a different manner. Henry thought it expedient to guard against this danger, and bind the engagement

ment more indissolubly by the most solemn sanction: as, besides the hope of future benefits which might arise from this match, he was very desirous, at this juncture, to get the Norman Vexin, with the important castle of Gisors, and those of Neufle and Neuchâtel, into his own hands. By the treaty of peace, which he had concluded with Louis the year before, he was authorized to take possession of these, if, before the term of three years assigned by that treaty for their being delivered up to him, his son should *espouse the princess with the consent of the church*. He therefore applied to the cardinals of Pisa and Pavia, legates from Alexander, who now were with him in Normandy, and prevailed upon them to celebrate the form of a marriage, or publick and solemn espousals, between Prince Henry his son, not yet six years old, and Margaret of France, who was still a younger infant. This ceremony being performed, he demanded the castles; which were immediately surrendered to him, by the knights templars, into whose custody they had been committed. Nor could they withhold them, against the express conditions of the treaty between the two princes. At the time when Louis gave his consent to that treaty, he was, in all probability, desirous to accelerate the espousals of his daughter with Henry's son, and thought the immaturity of their age no objection: but

See the treaty
in the Appen-
dix.

Diceto Imag.
hisor. sub,
ann. 1160.
Chron. Norm.
P. 997.
Neubrig. l. ii.
c. 24.

but the death of her mother and his new marriage having changed his opinion, he was so unreasonable as to complain of Henry's proceedings, in acting agreeably to their late convention.

V. Gul. Neu-
brig. l. ii. c.
24.
Hoveden ann.
pars post.
f. 282.

If we may believe some ancient writers, he accused that monarch of fraud, and the knights templars of breach of trust, and even drove the latter out of his kingdom, for having delivered the castles to Henry upon this *shadow of a marriage*. But it is evident that this anger had no foundation. For the words of the treaty, too clear to admit of any doubt, gave Henry a right to take possession of the castles, and of the whole Norman Vexin, for the use of his son, at any time after the signing thereof, when the latter should have *espoused* the daughter of Louis *with the consent of the church*. The legates of the pope had given that *consent*: the knights templars were present themselves at the ceremony: their trust was to determine as soon as this was performed; and their honor was engaged to surrender to Henry what then belonged to him, as much as any other part of his territories in France. Nor can the reproach of a dishonorable and fraudulent practice, in this transaction, be reasonably laid on that king. Prudence required him to secure to his son a desirable match and the advantages that attended it, in such manner as he was impowered, and even

See the treaty
in the Appen-
dix.

even invited to do it, by Louis himself, not long before. But though the French monarch had not, in reality, any cause for resentment on account of this act, the contemporary authors assign no other for his taking up arms against Henry the following year. He was, doubtless, incited to it, not by any good arguments; but by the influence which his bride, and the unanimous counsels of her brothers, had over his mind at this time. While, by their instigations, he was preparing for the war he intended to make at the return of the spring, those three princes, having drawn their forces together, began to fortify Chaumont, a castle in the county of Blois, bordering upon Touraine; from whence they proposed to infest the last mentioned province, as soon as the king, their master, should take the field. But Henry, to whom the intention of their work was no secret, put himself instantly at the head of a body of troops, which he had kept up to be ready on any emergency, and marched to prevent them from executing their purpose. Before he came to Chaumont, the earls of Champagne and Sancerre had returned home with their forces, leaving their brother, the earl of Blois, to complete the fortifications: but he also, upon intelligence of Henry's approach, which he did not expect, thought it prudent to retire. That king, whose celerity in his military

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operations made him always successful, found the works so unfinished, and the garrison of the castle so unable to defend it, that it was yielded to him without the trouble of a siege: and immediately given up to one of his vassals, named Hugh d'Amboise, who claimed it, as a fief that belonged to his family, and who bore a mortal hatred against the earl of Blois, because that prince had occasioned the death of his father by an unjust and severe imprisonment. Then, having added some new defences to the castles of Frettevalle and Amboise, Henry returned into Normandy, and put that whole dutchy into a state of security, by repairing and encreasing the fortifications of almost all his castles, but particularly of Gisors, and building a new fortress upon the banks of the Eure. He also garrisoned those of some noblemen, whose fidelity he suspected, with his own troops; as he had a right to do by the customs and laws of France.

But though his principal care was to provide for the safety of his territories on that continent, in case of a war, he did not neglect the works of peace. - Even while he was erecting these fortifications, he built a royal palace in the neighbourhood of Rouen, and an hospital for lepers near Caen, which the Norman chronicle styles a *wonderful building*, on account, I suppose of the beauty of its architecture, or its spacious extent. The leprosy

leprosy raged, at this time, very violently, in most parts of Europe, being imported from Palestine by the pilgrimages made thither, or from Syria and Egypt by the crusades; and such edifices were necessary to receive the infected, who were cut off from society with all other men. No charity therefore could better become a king than this, which gave all the comfort their condition would admit to the most unhappy of his subjects, and secured the rest from the contagion of so loathsome a distemper. Henry was also a benefactor to some religious houses, both in France and in England; for which he deserves the honor due to pious intentions.

Soon after Easter, in the year eleven hundred and sixty-one, Louis attempted to attack the Norman Vexin: but Henry had so strengthened every part of that district, that his enemy found it impracticable to make any siege, and soon retired to the frontier of his own country. The king of England pursued him; and the two armies being often in sight of each other, a battle was daily expected. But the reputation of Henry's arms made Louis unwilling to run that hazard; nor, when that monarch avoided, did Henry seek it, having more to lose, if he should be defeated, than to gain by a victory. He had done enough to prevent the imputation of fear being cast on his prudence; and

Book II.

Chron. Norm.
p. 998.

it was agreeable to every principle that governed his conduct, to make up a quarrel with the sovereign of his foreign dominions, as soon as he could with honor. He therefore was not displeased that good offices of mediation were employed by some common friends to both parties; in consequence of which, about midsummer, a truce was agreed upon between him and Louis. The first use that he made of it was to go and suppress a rebellion in Aquitaine, which had broken out during the war on the borders of Normandy, on a supposition that his arms would have been longer detained in those parts of the kingdom. But that hope was now frustrated: in less than two months he vanquished all the rebels, and recovered whatever he had lost in those provinces, either by treason, or force; particularly the fortress of Chastillon above Agen, upon the river Garonne, which, though nature and art had concurred to render it strong, he took in five or six days, to the great astonishment and terror of the Gascons.

The science of engineering must certainly have been possessed by this prince, or by those employed under him, in a high degree of perfection; as we find he hardly ever besieged any place without reducing it sooner than his enemies had expected.

All being subdued and quiet in Aquitaine, he performed nothing more of any importance

ance this year, except presiding together with Louis at the council of Toulouse, an account of which has been given. Their meeting in that city may be regarded as a proof, that no great animosity continued between them, or between the king of England and the earl of Toulouse.

N O T E S

T O T H E

F I R S T B O O K

O F T H E

History of the Life of King HENRY
the Second.

PAGE 8. *Upon which she immediately gave the alarm to her friends, and, with all possible silence and secrecy, drew them insensibly, by small parties, out of the city, before the conspirators there were ready to act; then, mounting on horseback, she retired, in a military manner, to Oxford; the nobles, who attended her, forming, with their followers, a strong body of cavalry, and marching together, in good order, till they got to a considerable distance from London.*

Book I.

Some authors say, that Matilda and her friends made their escape in the utmost disorder, and, rather by a flight than retreat, having been informed of their danger but a moment before, when the bells of the city were ringing to call the people to arms, and the insurrection was already begun. But I have preferred the account given by William V. HIA of Malmesbury, who says, that *insidiis præcognitis et citatis, sensim, sine tumultu quadam militari disciplina*

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urbe

urbe cesserunt. For, had their notice of the plot been so short, and their flight so disorderly, as the others pretend, it is not conceivable how those who were lodged in the city could all be permitted to go off unmolested, or how it could happen that no pursuit should have been made by the citizens. William of Malmesbury affirms, that *all* of Matilda's party escaped unhurt; and no other author makes mention of any of them having been killed, or taken prisoners.

P. 61. *It happened well for him, that the action did not begin till after sun-set; so that darkness coming on assisted his flight.*

In my account of this action, I have, for the most part, followed the author of the acts of king Stephen. Gervase of Canterbury differs, in some respects, from that author; particularly in this, that he says the king fled without facing the enemy; whereas the other tells us, that he drew all his forces out of the town, and did not fly, till the best part of them were broken and routed, which better agrees with his character. I have reconciled their accounts as far as I could; but where they are irreconcilable, I have adhered to the acts of King Stephen, as the writer was nearest in time.

P. 76. *This Sultan left the government to his son Gelaeddin, whose dominions extended from Urquend, a city of Turquestan beyond the river Oxus, to Antioch in Syria; which he won from the Greek empire by the good conduct of Solyman, a prince of his blood, on whom he bestowed it, with part of the Lesser Asia, &c.*

Antioch had been conquered from the Greek empire by the Caliph Omar, in the sixteenth year of the Hegira; and remained in the hands of the Saracens

Saracens till the year 357 of the same æra, when it was regained from them by the emperor Nicephorus Phocas. Solyma took it in the year of the Hegira 477. (See ANTHAKIA in Herbelot.)

P. 101. *Yet when he found, during his march over the lands of the empire, several proofs of hostile malice and treachery in the Greeks, &c.*

Monsieur Voltaire, in his late History of the Crusades, and another excellent writer of the same nation, have ascribed the mortality in the army of Conrad, only to their intemperance, and the effects of a foreign climate. (V. Voltaire Hist. des Croisades, sub ann. 1147. p. 78. & Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France, tom. i. sub ann. 1148.) But the unanimous testimony of all the contemporary Latin historians, supported by Nicetas, a Greek, who was Secretary to Emanuel Comnenus, in his Life of that emperor, leaves us, I think, no room to doubt, that they were perfidiously destroyed by the Greeks. The silence of the last author, as to any violences committed by the Germans, which might have provoked such ill usage, disproves all that Cinnaus, another Greek writer, has said on that subject. In truth, the behaviour of Conrad and his army, was quite irreproachable, with regard to the Greeks; but the Greeks acted treacherously and basely by them; nor can I make any question of their having acted by the orders of Emanuel Comnenus. It appears by a letter from the king of France himself, that he likewise complained of *the fraud of that emperor*: “ In quibus
“ sanè partibus, tum *pro fraude imperatoris*, tum
“ pro culpâ nostrorum, non pauca damna pertuli-
“ mus, et graviter quidem in multis periculis vex-
“ ati sumus. Non defuerunt quippe nobis assidue
“ latronum insidiæ, graves viarum difficultates,
“ quo-

Book I.

“quotidiana bella Turcorum, qui *permissione imperatoris* in terram suam militiam Christi persequi venerant, &c.” V. Epist. Suger. 39. apud Duchesne.

P. 123. *Yet the latter has left his readers as much in the dark, as all the other historians who lived in those days, with regard to the person she intrigued with.*

V. Wil. Tyri,
l. xvi. c. 27.

His words are these: “Spe frustratus, mutato studio, regis vias abominari, et ei præstruere patenter insidias, et in ejus læsionem armari cœpit, Uxorem enim ejus in id ipsum consentientem, quæ una erat de fatuis mulieribus, aut violenter, aut occultis machinationibus, ab eo rapere proposuit. Erat, ut præmisimus, *sicut et prius et postmodum manifestis edocuit indicis*, mulier imprudens, et contra dignitatem regiam *legem negligens maritalem, thori conjugalis fidem oblita*: quod postquam regi *compertum est*, principis præveniens molimina, vitæ quoque et salutis consulens, de consilium magnatum suorum iter accelerans, urbe Antiochena cum suis clam egressus est.” By these words, one would imagine, that he meant to accuse her of an amour with her uncle, as well as with others, before and after this time. But, in giving the character of the same prince of Antioch, he says, that he was scrupulously true to his wife, conjugalis integritatis, postquam duxit uxorem, sollicitus custos et servator.” And if that prince was not himself the gallant of Eleanor, it is most incredible that he should blast his own reputation, and risque his fortune and life, by taking her from her husband, to favor the criminal passion of another. As for the imputation this writer has thrown, in the passage above-cited, both on her former and subsequent conduct, I do not find it supported by any

Idem, l. xiv.
c. 21.

any other evidence in any of the accounts we have of those times.

Book I.

P. 124. *This opinion is well warranted by the words of an historian, who lived in that age.*

The words that I refer to are these: "*Princeps satis intelligens per responſionem regis petitiones ſuas vacuas fieri magna contra regem ferbuit iracundia, et ab illa hora non ceſſavit, in quantum potuit, in malum regis et dedecus machinare; in tantum quod Alienordis regina uxor ſua ſuis malis exhortationibus regem voluit deſerere, et ab illo, ad minus ad tempus, quaſi quodam divortio ſeparari.*" The Latin is very bad; but it is plain from the ſenſe, that *uxor ſua* means *uxor regis*, and *ſuis malis exhortationibus*, ſhould be *ejus malis exhortationibus*. V. Geſta Ludovici VII. regis filii Ludovici Groſſi apud Duſcheſne.

The author of the Life of Abbot Suger, published in 1721, aſcribes the greateſt part of this book to that Abbot, ſuppoſing that he wrote it from the Memoires of Odo de Deuſil, and that after his deceaſe it was finiſhed by Odo. But he is certainly miſtaken in both theſe opinions. For the Memoirs and this Hiſtory differ in many particulars, of which I will mention one inſtance. The Memoirs ſay, that, after the defeat on the mountain of Laodicea, another action enſued, in which the French beat the Turks, and cut to pieces a large body of them between two rivers. (V. Odo de Diogn. l. vii.) But the Hiſtory ſays, they never met with the Turks, after the defeat abovementioned, till they came to Attalia. (V. Geſt. Ludov. c. 14.) The uſe of certain barbarous words in this book, which likewiſe occur in the writings of Suger, is not a proof that he wrote it: as the ſame words are uſed by many others, who wrote in that age.

Histoire de
Suger, tom. i.
diff. 3^{me},

Book I.



age. But there are some in this book, particularly *parlamentum*, which seem to fix the date of it half a century later than Suger's death. (See Gest. Ludov. c. 3. 18.) I therefore agree with the learned and judicious Dupin, in not regarding this book as the work of that Abbot.

P. 130. *For, to suppose, that true miracles were really done by him, in confirmation of his having received revelations from God, which the event proved to be false, is such an absurdity, and such an impiety, as one would think, superstition itself should reject.*

It is astonishing, that a protestant Divine, Dr. Fuller, in his History of the Holy wars, should say, that *God set his hand to St. Bernard's testimonial of the miracles which that father wrought!* (V. Fuller's History of the Holy wars, l. ii. c. 30.) The Jesuit Maimbourg had more judgment, and speaks very doubtfully about all these miracles; or, rather, in a way that shews he thought they deserved no credit. (V. Maimbourg Hist. des Croisades, l. iii. p. 429, 430.) But yet it is certain, that few of the modern miracles, believed by the Church of Rome, are better attested. There is still extant a book, published by Sanson, archbishop of Rheims, which contains a journal of them, with testimonies and proofs. (V. Fleuri Hist. Ecclesiast. l. lxix. p. 1246.) They are mentioned by many contemporary authors, both German and French. (V. Odo de Diog. l. v. Geoffredi Vit. S. Bernardi, c. 4.) And, lastly, Bernard himself appeals to them as proofs of the truth of his mission. In his apology to the Pope he writes thus: "If you ask me, what miracles I have done, to prove the divine revelations which I had received, that is a point to which it does not become me to answer. Modesty hinders me, and I ought to be excused from it on that
2
account,

“ account. It lies on you, holy father, it lies on
 “ you to answer for me, *according to what you have*
 “ *seen and heard.*”

Among the miracles said to be done by him, this is one. A lame child was brought to him in presence of the emperor: he made the sign of the cross, raised the child, and bid him walk, which he did very well. Then Bernard, turning to the emperor, said, “ This was done for your sake, that you may
 “ know, that God is certainly with you, and that
 “ your enterprize is agreeable to him.”

P. 137. *And though, in the desperate state of Stephen's affairs after the battle of Lincoln, he, with all the other noblemen who served that prince, except William of Ipres, submitted to Matilda, and not only was confirmed by her in his earldom, but received additional favors, as appears by two charters granted to him that year, yet he soon left her, and returned to the party of the king, &c.*

These charters are cited by Dugdale in his Baro-
 nage, but he has misplaced them: for that dated from Oxford, which he gives first, refers to the other, dated from Westminster, in several places, by confirming grants made therein. That both were granted in the year 1141 appears very clearly. For Matilda was not at Westminster after the death of her father till a few days before Midsummer in that year; and before the end of that summer she was driven from thence by the conspiracy of the Londoners. This certainly fixes the time, when the first of these charters was given, to have been in that interval. And she promises in the other, that certain lords, who are called *her barons*, should be pledges for the engagements contracted therein, and names among others Gilbert earl of Pembroke, who, from the time of the siege of Winchester till
 a year

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a year after the death of the earl of Essex, was in the service of Stephen. This charter must therefore have been given at the time when she went to reside in Oxford castle after her flight from Westminster, and before she engaged in her unsuccessful attempt upon the bishop's castle at Winchester: for only during that interval could the earl of Pembroke be reckoned among *her barons*, as he, together with all the chief friends of King Stephen, had then submitted to her; but presently afterwards forsook her again, and came with the army raised by the queen to besiege her in Winchester. Probably she gave the earl of Essex this charter, which is more liberal than the other, in hopes of recovering the city of London by his assistance. Whether at this time he really meant to assist her is doubtful. Perhaps he only treated with her to amuse and deceive her, till the bishop of Winchester should be ready to act in concert with him against her. Certain it is, that soon afterwards he broke these engagements: for the anonymous author of the Acts of King Stephen names all the earls who attended her general summons at Winchester, and he is not among them: and William of Malmesbury says, that almost all the earls in England attended the bishop of Winchester's summons upon that occasion; which is a very strong presumption that he came to that siege, with the forces from London, under William of Ipres: for, as he was a person of such note in the party, mention would have been made of his absence, if he had not been there. Nor can one suppose he would afterwards have been trusted by Stephen in so high a degree, if he had not served him at that very critical juncture, when all his other friends returned to his service. It is remarkable, that, in the last of the charters granted to him, in the year 1141, by Matilda, her husband and son are joined with her

as

V. Gest.

Stephen. Reg.

ap. Duchesne

Hist. Norm.

p. 956.

V. Malmsh.

Hist. Norm.

l. ii. f. 107. 2.

lin. 30.



as confirming the grants. But in the former no notice is taken of either of them; nor do I find the earl of Anjou once mentioned in any other publick act or monument of those times relating to England. His being named as a party in the abovementioned charter would induce one to think, that Matilda had then a design to acknowledge him as king of England, in right of his marriage. But, if it was so, that intention was soon laid aside.

P. 151. *Nevertheless he retained to himself the dominion of that dutchy, as he had held it in her absence; that is, without any dependence upon her.*

Gervase says, she went to live *sub tutela mariti sui*.

P. 160. *And though Celestine died soon afterwards, and he found dispositions more favorable to him in Lucius the Second; yet he could not obtain from that pontiff a renewal of his brother's commission.*

It is said, by some authors, that the bishop of Winchester received a pall from Pope Lucius the Second, who proposed to raise his see into an archbishoprick, with seven suffragans under him. (V. Diceto Abbreviat. Chronic. sub ann. 1143. Matth. Paris. Annales Winton. Anglia sacra, pars I. p. 300.) But the silence of all the contemporary historians, and more particularly of Gervase of Canterbury, upon this matter, makes me much doubt the truth of it; especially as J. Hagustaldensis affirms, that Lucius refused to make the bishop his legate. The most ancient historian, by whom it is mentioned, is Radulphus de Diceto. Perhaps the bishop might have such a design in his thoughts, as his ambition was restless, and his temper very enterprising; but that in so short a pontificate, as that of Lucius the Second, which did not last a year, so great

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great a change should be made in the English church, and made while a civil war was raging in the kingdom, is very improbable.

P. 160. *The other English bishops obeyed the king, and the laws of their country; for which they were put, by the authority of the Pope, under spiritual censures.*

Gervase of Canterbury tells us, that four of the English bishops were absolved some time afterwards by the archbishop, from the sentence they had incurred on this account: and, as we learn from the same author, that all had been summoned to the council by the pope, all, I presume, were punished for not going thither; but with some difference in the censures and in the time they remained under them, according as they had shewn more or less inclination to go; unless any of them could plead sickness, or some necessary impediment.

Vid. Gervase
Chron. col.
1365.

P. 172. *It does not appear that the archbishop of Canterbury obtained at this time the legatine dignity.*

The being made the Pope's legate was in reality, though not in the sense of those times, a diminution of the dignity of an archbishop of Canterbury; but it was a greater diminution of it to be subjected to the exercise of the legatine power in the hands of a suffragan bishop: which will sufficiently account for the desire of Theobald to get it restored to his see. When his predecessor obtained it, he probably thought it an addition to his power; and so it was, if he found that the independency of his see could be no longer maintained against the pretended supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

Ibid,



Ibid. But I do not find Theobald styled the Pope's legate till the year 1151.

The author of the *Antiquitates Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*, and after him Mr. Selden, in his dissertation on *Fleta*, and some later writers, have said, that archbishop Theobald was honored with the title of *legatus natus*. But I find no mention of it in the contemporary historians. Gervase of Canterbury was too well informed of the affairs of that see, and too fond of all that he supposed did honor to it, especially under the government of archbishop Theobald, to have omitted this in his *Chronicle*, and in the *Life* of that prelate, had it been true. Mr. Selden, who says, that this title was given him by Innocent the Second, must be mistaken; as we certainly know, that the bishop of Winchester was legate in England till the death of that pope. Some other writers have said, that Theobald gained the legatine dignity from Celestine the Second; but this, I believe, is likewise an error. For, had that commission been held by him when Celestine died, Lucius would hardly have sent into this kingdom a cardinal legate, as we find that he did; or, at least, on the recal of that legate, Theobald would have been styled, by Gervase of Canterbury, and Henry of Huntington, *apostolicæ sedis legatus*; but they do not give him that title till the year 1151.

P. 168. But, before he did this, he required him to take an oath, never to resume, from him, or his heirs, any part of the three counties, which he had obtained possession of, during the troubles in England.

In this I have followed William of Newbury.

Roger de Hoveden, in giving an account of the oath exacted by David, expresses it thus: "Factus sub anno. 1148. V. Hoveden, 50.
" est miles ab eodem rege David in civitate Car-

" leoli, prius dato sacramento, quod, si ipse rex

VOL. II.

H h

" Angliæ

Book I.

“ Angliæ fieret, redderet ei Novum Castellum, et
 “ totam Northumbriam, et premitteret illum, et
 “ hæredes suos, in pace, sine calumniâ, in perpe-
 “ tuum possidere totam terram, quæ est à fluvio
 “ Tweede ad fluvium Tine.” But David accord-
 ing to William of Newbury, was then in possession
 of all the country belonging to England, as far as
 the river Tees. “ Aquilonaris vero regio, quæ in
 “ potestatem domini regis Scotorum usque ad flu-
 “ vium *Tesam* ceperat, per ejusdem regis industriam
 “ in pace degebat.” Yet notwithstanding this dif-
 ference in marking the bounds, I presume that they
 both meant the three Northern counties, which,
 William of Newbury afterwards informs us, were
 yielded back to Henry in the year 1157. “ Regi
 “ quoque Scotorum, qui Aquilonares Angliæ re-
 “ giones, scilicet Northumbriam, Cumbriam, West-
 “ morlandiam, nomine Matildis dictæ Imperatri-
 “ cis, & hæredis ejus, olim a David Scotorum
 “ rege adquisitas, tanquam jus proprium possidebat,
 “ mandare curavit, regem Angliæ tantâ regni sui
 “ parte non debere fraudari, nec posse patienter
 “ mutilari: justum esse reddi quod suo fuisset no-
 “ mine adquisitum. Ille vero prudenter considerans
 “ regem Angliæ in hac parte cum potentia virium
 “ merito caulæ præstare, quamvis posset obtendere
 “ juramentum, quod avo suo David præstitisse
 “ *dicebatur*, cum ab eo cingulum acciperet militare,
 “ prænominatos fines repetenti cum integritate
 “ restituit, &c.”

V. Neubrig.
 l. ii. c. 4.

V. Neubrig.
 l. i. c. 22.

And it must be observed, that this author speaks
 of Henry's having taken this oath somewhat doubt-
 fully, as having his knowledge of it only from *hear-
 say*, “ accepta prius (*ut dicitur*) cautione;” and
 again, in the passage cited above, “ juramentum
 “ quod avo suo David præstitisse *dicebatur*.” But
 Roger de Hoveden, and all the Scotch writers, are

positive in the fact. To the Scotch I should pay no great regard, as the most ancient of these writers is but of late times, and cannot be opposed to the authority of contemporary historians; but, I think, that the testimony of Roger de Hoveden cannot reasonably be rejected, especially as the matter is probable in itself. For though David had possessed himself of the abovementioned counties in the name of Matilda, and of her son, he certainly did not mean to give up the pretensions his own son had to Northumberland, if not to Carlisle; and we find, he disposed of all the three counties at his death, as having an absolute property in them, *tanquam jus proprium*, (to use the expression of William of Newbury) which he would hardly have done, without having made some agreement with Henry about them. I therefore believe, that he took this opportunity to obtain them from that prince, who wanted his assistance; and to obtain them, not as feudatory, but independent dominions.

P. 170. *I presume that he was not to hold this acquisition as a fief under David, who had no title to it, but under Henry Plantagenet as king of England.*

J. Hagustaldensis says, he did homage to David: but this must be a mistake; for Lancaster could not possibly be claimed by that king as a fief of his crown, having never belonged to it, either by treaty or grant from any king of England. It is not mentioned among the territories restored to Henry the Second; nor is there any notice taken of its having been then retained by the king of Scotland, or ceded to him by England. Henry, no doubt, would have claimed and recovered it, with the three Northern counties, if it had been in the possession of that king.

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P. 198. *His father directed, by a clause in his will, that, if ever Henry should be fully possessed of his mother's inheritance, that is, of England and Normandy, he then should give up all his paternal dominions, namely the earldoms of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, to his second brother.*

This fact is questioned by Mr. Carte, on the authority of an ancient historian, the monk of Moirmoutier, who relates, "That the earl of Anjou left orders at his death, forbidding Henry his son to introduce the customs of England or Normandy into Anjou," from whence Carte infers, that he intended to leave that prince sole heir to all those dominions. But the inference is not good: for, as he certainly left him Anjou till he should gain possession of England, he might think it proper to restrain him from any alteration of the laws of that province while it was under his dominion, and yet mean to give that and his two other earldoms to Geoffry, when the abovementioned contingency should come to pass. Certainly, neither this passage, nor the silence of other writers upon this point, can be enough to invalidate the positive testimony of William of Newbury, a contemporary historian, given with so many particulars, and supported by Brompton. Nor is it probable, that without some pretence of this kind, Geoffry should have invaded his brother's dominions.

P. 199. *Suger was dead: and he had no other friend, either so honest or so wise, as to shew him all the folly of what he was doing.*

The author of the Life of Abbot Suger supposes, that after Louis returned into France, that minister approved of his divorcing the queen, on account of her conduct while they were in the East. But I can discover no foundation for this supposition, which

which ill agrees with the prudence of Suger. The words of the letter he wrote to Louis, which are brought to confirm it, prove no such thing. “De regina, conjugē vestra, audemus vobis laudare. (si tamen placet) quatenus rancorem animi vestri [si est] operiatis, donec (Deo volente) ad proprium reversus regnum, et super his et super aliis provideatis.” Advising him not to discover the rancour of his mind (*if he had any*) towards his queen, till, being returned into his own kingdom, *he might take proper measures on that and other affairs*, was by no means advising, *that he then should divorce her*. The true intention of it seems to have been, *to gain time*, and stop the king from pursuing, with a rash precipitation, what the first heat of his resentment suggested.

P. 216. *And had the resolution to publish an edit, which silenced the professor, and forbad the books, &c.*

The words of John of Salisbury, who was a con- J. Salisb. de temporary writer, are these: “Tempore regis Ste- nusis curia- phani a regno iustæ sunt leges Romanæ, quas in lium.
“Britanniam domus venerabilis patris Theobaldi,
“Britanniarum primatis, asciverat. Ne quis etiam
“libros retineret edicto regio prohibitum est; et
“Vacatio nostro inhibitu silentium.” Mr. Selden, in his dissertation on Fleta, understands the civil laws by *leges Romanæ*; and that the sense of them extended to these, is certain; but that they principally meant the canon laws, I think evident from the words of the same John of Salisbury immediately following: “Sed, Deo faciente, eo
“magis virtus legis invaluit quo eam amplius nit-
“batur impietas infirmare.” How could the oppos-
ing the imperial, or civil laws, unconnected with
the canon laws, be called *a work of impiety*? Or,
H h 3 why

Book I.

Janus Anglo-
ram. Review
of his book
upon Tythes.

And Notes up-
on Fortescue.
Actus pontif.
Cantuar. de
Theobaldo.

V. Differt. in
Fletam.
Arthur Duck
de usu &
authoritate
juris civilis.
Chron. Norm.
Robert de
Monte, ann.
1148.

why is the *assistance of God* brought in to the support of these laws, if the Pope and the Church had not been concerned in them? Indeed Mr. Selden himself, in three other tracts, has given his opinion for understanding this passage as relative to the canon laws. And Joannes Balæus explains them in the same sense. There is also a passage in Gervase of Canterbury, which may afford some light in this matter: Speaking of the disputes between the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester, about the legatine power, he goes on thus: "Oriuntur hinc inde discordiæ graves, lites; et ap-
" pellationes antea inauditæ. Tunc leges & cano-
" dici in Angliam primo vocati sunt, quorum primus
" erat magister Vacarius. Hic in Oxenfordia legem;
" docuit, et apud Romam magister Gratianus &c.
" Alexander, qui & Rodlandus, in proximo papa
" futurus, *canones compilavit*." By this it appears, that the occasion of bringing over these laws and professors from Italy, was the new and frequent disputes that arose between bishops, and in consequence of them, appeals made to the Pope. The jurisprudence of Rome, that is, the canons received, and authorized there, being to decide these appeals, the study of them was thought to be necessary here; and both parties desired to make their court to the pope, by the regard they paid to them; as nothing could more enlarge his authority, than the extending the use and influence of these laws. Yet it must be confessed, that Vacarius, who, as Gervase of Canterbury tells us, was the chief professor of them in England, did also teach the civil law. He was professor of both, *legum doctor*, and brought both together into this kingdom. For, at this time, they went hand in hand over Europe. The prohibition of Stephen included both; for there might well be a jealousy in the government, that

too great a fondness, either for the civil or canon law, would be very prejudicial to the English constitution. It was afterwards found to be so; and therefore wisely opposed by the parliament. The only difficulty is, why the canon law should be said to be *now brought into England*. For, in a National

synod, held here Anno Domini 670, the Codex

Canonum vetus ecclesiæ Romanæ was received by the clergy. It also appears, by a statute of William the First, that with the advice and consent of his great council, he had reviewed and reformed the episcopal laws that were in use till his time in the realm of England. Some establishment therefore

the canon law had undoubtedly gained in this country before the reign of King Stephen, even by the sanction of the whole legislature. But these more ancient canons were not so prejudicial to the rights of the state, as these now introduced by Vacarius.

The great compilation made by Ivo de Chatres, in the time of Henry the First, was strongly calculated to advance the dominion of Rome, and all the extravagant pretensions of the clergy. It was probably this which was brought over and taught by Vacarius, with such other papal decrees, or canons of councils, as later popes had superadded to that body of laws. And these being formed on the principles of Gregory the Seventh, it was time for the civil power

to resist their establishment. Besides, the question was now not only upon the *utility*, but the *authority* of those laws. For the court of Rome pretended to impose them upon all Christian states, *proprio jure*, and by a transcendent power in itself, derived from God, to which the laws of all nations were to submit. It was therefore most necessary now to assert the independency of the state, by refusing to admit them. Nor do I conceive that Stephen, by this prohibition, forbade the use of those canons

H h 4

which

Book I.

V. Rot. Parl.
2 Rich. II.
Beda Hist. ec-
cles. l. iv. c. 5.
Spelm. Conc.
293.

Selden's Notes
on Eadmer, &
Analect. Angl.
Britan. L.
Gul. I.

V. Selden's
Review of his
book of
tythes.

Book I.

which were already ingrafted in our constitution: He only expelled the new books, which had lately been brought into England by Vacarius.

The exact time when he published this edict we cannot be certain of; the year not being mentioned in any ancient writers who tell us the fact. Some modern authors have supposed, that it was done about the year 1148; but that is a mistake; for Vacarius did not begin to read lectures in Oxford till the year 1149. I have therefore ventured to place it in the year 1152, when Stephen had no longer any measures to keep, either with the pope, or the bishops, having been so insulted by both in the affair of his son's coronation. And as Gratian published his *Decretum* in the year 1151, that collection was probably sent over to Vacarius, and read by him here, which from the nature of it, might well add to the alarm of the government, and determine it the more to this prohibition. Where we have only conjecture to guide us, probabilities must determine.

Matth. Paris,
P. 352.

It is observable, that when the Decretals of Gregory the Ninth, which he had *commanded to be read, and divulged throughout the whole world*, were brought into England, in the nineteenth year of the reign of Henry the Third, the king forbad them to be taught in the London schools: "Mandatum est majori & vicecomitibus London, (says the close roll of this year) quod clamari faciant, & firmiter prohibere, ne aliquis scholas regens de legibus in eadem civitate, de cætero ibidem leges doceat; & si aliquis fuerit hujusmodi scholas regens, ipsum sine dilatione capere faciant. Teste rege apud Basing. 11 Decem." Lord Coke indeed says, that this writ was issued out against the reading upon Magna Charta, and Charta de Foresta; but Selden and other learned men have demonstrated that he was mistaken.

See Dissert.
on Fleta.
See Hist. of
Convocat.
P. 3, 4.

P. 222. *And landed very happily, it is not said where, but, probably, at Wareham, on the sixth day of January, 1153.*

The Norman chronicle, as published in Duchesne, puts this event under the year 1151, as it does the death of the earl of Anjou under the year 1150. But Duchesne himself has observed, that the copy from which he printed that work is very full of anachronisms. Many indeed of the most approved writers, who lived in these times, differ in their dates even of very important facts. The disagreement between them may, sometimes, be reconciled; by observing, that some of them compute the beginning of the year from the incarnation, others from the nativity, others from the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. And those who reckon not by the years of Christ, but by the years of a king's reign, (as several do) are not agreed in that computation; for, if a king came to the crown about the middle or end of a year, some reckon the interval between his coronation and the following year the first of his reign, beginning the second with the commencement of the next year: Others, on the contrary, take no account of those broken months, but date the reign from the beginning of the ensuing year. But there are some instances, where the discordance, in point of chronology, cannot be accounted for either way; but must be owing to inaccuracy and mistake in the writers, or in the copies which we have of their books. I have taken great pains, throughout this history, to fix the dates as exactly as possible; but do not think it necessary to trouble my readers, upon every occasion, with giving my reasons why I have preferred one authority to another.

P. 228. *The earl of Arundel, having assembled the English nobility, and principal officers, spoke to this effect: &c.*

Vid. Gerv.
Chron. p.
1373.

Gervase of Canterbury, in his account of this event, makes the earl of Arundel propose an agreement with Henry to Stephen himself, without having first suggested it to the nobles, or being secure of their assent. And he supposes, that it arose from *accident*, not *design*; because the king's horse had fallen with him three times; which the earl thought *a bad omen*, and for that reason advised him to make a peace. One would also imagine, from his way of relating it, that Stephen came into a proposal so sudden, and so disadvantageous to himself and his family, without any reluctance, and chiefly on *that account*. But this is very improbable in every circumstance, especially as it appears by several proofs, that this prince was remarkably free from

Huntington,
f. 227.

superstition. Henry of Huntington, another contemporary historian, gives a more rational account of this matter in many particulars. According to him, it was entirely the act of the English nobility, who forced both Stephen and Henry into it against their will. His words are these: "Insurrexerunt
" autem proceres, immo proditores, Angliæ, de
" concordia inter eos agentes, nihil tamen magis quam
" discordiam diligentes: sed bellum committere volebant,
" quia neutrum exaltare volebant, ne, altero subactò,
" alteriis liberè dominetur, sed semper alter alterum
" metuens regiam in eos potestatem exercere non posset.
" Inducias igitur inter se rex, duxque constituerunt,
" coacti nolentes, &c."

There are very few passages in any of our old English writers, which deserve more regard, for the good sense contained in them, and for the light which they throw upon a part of our history left very dark by all others. Yet it must be observed,
that

that the earl of Arundel is not mentioned by Henry of Huntington in this affair : but as his narrative of it is short, that omission will prove nothing against what is said by other historians, of that nobleman's having been the first mover of it, and having greatly contributed to its success by the speech he made on this subject. I have therefore agreed so far with those writers ; but in the occasion and purport of the speech, as well as in the effect that it had on Stephen, I have preferred the authority of Henry of Huntington, who seems to have been better informed, or to have judged more sagaciously of the real motives and springs of this revolution.

In composing the speech, I have followed the example of the most admired historians, Thucydides, Livy, Sallust, Tacitus, Guicciardino, Bentivoglio, Lord Bacon, and several others, both of ancient and modern times, who thought it proper to introduce some ornaments of this nature into their narratives; though some persons of good sense have objected against them, particularly Pere Daniel. They certainly give a dignity and spirit to history ; for which reason, I think, they ought to be admitted, when they are only brought in upon great and weighty occasions, and when there is warrant sufficient to determine the matter, and general scope of them ; as in this given here. I have sometimes abridged those that are delivered down to us in our ancient historians, if they appeared to be tedious ; and some, which I thought impertinent, I have left out ; but most of them are translated, without variation, from the contemporary writers,

NOTES.

N O T E S

T O T H E

S E C O N D B O O K

O F T H E

History of the Life of King HENRY
the Second.

PAGE 292. *He therefore summoned a parliament, wherein almost all his nobles were present, and having properly laid before them the wants of the crown, the losses it had suffered, the illegality of the grants, and the urgent necessity of a speedy resumption, obtained their concurrence to it, and proceeded to put it in immediate execution.*

Book II.

It does not appear that this secret article of the treaty of Winchester had received the sanction of parliament, as the three others had done, during the life of King Stephen. That prince (one may presume) delayed to ask it, for fear of offending the nobles of his own faction; and Henry durst not press him (as he did in other instances) to execute this part of the agreement between them, lest he should take advantage of it to excite new commotions in England, before he himself had obtained a peace from Louis. It was therefore necessary to ask the concurrence of parliament to this resumption, after he came to the crown: and he seems to have

have acted wisely in not proposing it to them, till the expulsion of the foreign troops, and demolition of the castles, had been fully executed.

P. 293. *The cause assigned for these resumptions was not a defect in the title of the grantor, &c.*

Some historians have indeed given that reason for them; but the fact itself proves the contrary. For, in that case, only the grants which Stephen had made would have been resumed by his successor, not those of Matilda. Besides, we are assured, that Stephen himself had consented to these resumptions at the treaty of Winchester, which he would never have done upon the foundation of the grants being illegal, *because made by him*. The true reason was the poverty of the crown, or (to use the words of William of Newbury) *quod regii redditus breves essent, qui antea tempore uberes fuerant*; and the danger of leaving in the hands of the barons so many of the royal fortresses, which Gervase calls, with great propriety, *Rebellianem materiam, et suspicionem causas*.

Neubrigen.

p. 282. l. ii.

Gerv. Chron.

P. 1377.

P. 304. *He therefore joined two laymen in the commission, the earl of Leicester and Richard de Lucy.*

It seems that the earl of Leicester had the precedence of Richard de Lucy, though both are styled equally *Justiciarii Angliæ*, in the records of those times. Dugdale, in his Baronage, supposes that the latter was not made Justiciary till the eighth year of Henry II. and quotes for it Roger Hoveden, who says no such thing, but only mentions him as Justiciary in some of the transactions which past in that year. Indeed this work of that learned author is much more inaccurate than most of his other writings, and ought to be read with caution.

P. 311.

P. 311. *And just before the death of Stephen the archdeaconry of Canterbury was likewise given to him by the same prelate.*

Fitzstephen says, that the archdeaconry of Canterbury was the first dignity in the church of England, next to the bishops and abbots, and was worth to Becket a hundred pounds *per ann.* equivalent to a benefice of fifteen hundred at present. *Post episcopos et abbates, in ecclesia Anglorum hic primas et dignior est personatus, et ei valebat centum libras argenti.*

P. 314. *The Chancellor of England, at this time, had no distinct court of judicature in which he presided; but he acted together with the Justiciary and other great officers, in matters of the revenue, at the Exchequer, and sometimes in the counties, upon circuits.*

Britton, who flourished in the reign of Edward the First, writing of all other courts, from the highest tribunal to the court-baron, makes no mention of the chancery (see Dugdale's Origin. Juridiciales.) And Mr. Madox says, that, till the reign of King John, the chancery was usually holden at the Exchequer, the great seal being commonly kept and many or most of the chancery writs dispatched and sealed there. But the same author has shewn, that, in the reign of Henry the Second, pleas were held in the county of Kent, before the king's Chancellor, and the earl of Leicester, chief-justice, and also before the Chancellor, and Henry de Essex, high-constable, (see Madox's History of the Exchequer, c. ii. p. 42, 43.)

We have a description of the office of Chancellor in the following words of a contemporary writer of Becket's life: "Cancellarii dignitas est, ut
 " secundus a rege in regno habeatur: ut altera parte
 " sigilli regii, quod et ad ejus pertinet custodiam,
 " propria signet mandata: ut capella regia in illius
 " sit

Book II.

“ sit dispoſitione et cura: ut vacantes archiepiſco-
 “ patus, epiſcopatus, abbatias et baronias cadentes
 “ in manum regis ipſe ſuſcipiat et conſervet: ut
 “ omnibus regiis adſit conſiliis; etiam non vocatus
 “ accedat: ut omnia ſigilliferi clerici regii ſua
 “ manu ſignentur.” (ſee Dugdale’s Origin. juridi-
 cal. & Selden. upon the office of Chancellor.)
 But the dignity of this office is exaggerated by this
 author, probably from a deſire of doing honor to
 Becket. For the Dialogus de Scaccario expreſſy
 ſays, that the Great Juſticiary had the precedence
 in the court of Exchequer before the Chancellor,
 and it appears from many other proofs that his
 power and dignity were greater at this time. Nor
 is it true, that the cuſtody of vacant prelacies or of
 baronies eſcheated to the crown belonged officially
 to the Chancellor. For it appears evidently by the
 rolls, that the king committed it to whom he
 pleaſed, (ſee Hiſt. of the Exchequer, c. 10.) Some
 of theſe had been granted to Becket, but not in
 right of his office. Upon the whole, this paſſage
 deſerves little regard.

See Duck de
 Authoritate.
 Jur. Civ.
 c. viii. p. 305.

There are ſome verſes of John of Salisbury, in
 his preface to his Polycraticon, which have made
 ſome perſons think, that, as early as in the reign
 of King Henry the Second, the Chancellor had a
 power to temper and moderate the common law by
 equity. The verſes are theſe:

- “ Quærendus regni tibi cancellarius Angli,
- “ Primus ſollicita mente petendus erit.
- “ Hic eſt qui regni leges cancellat iniquas,
- “ Et mandata pii principis æqua facit.
- “ Si quid obest populo, vel moribus eſt inimicum,
- “ Quicquid id eſt, per eum deſinit eſſe nocens.”

But, from other proofs, it appears, that this was
 not a deſcription of the chancellor’s office, as it was
 in thoſe days; but a perſonal compliment paid to
 Becket,



Becket, with such exaggerations as poetry may admit of, and a quibble upon the words *cancellat* and *cancellarius*.

As a specimen of the inaccuracy of Monsieur Rapin Thoyras, in his history of this reign, and of the little knowledge he had of our ancient constitution, I shall transcribe a passage out of him, as translated by Mr. Tindal, who has faithfully rendered his sense: "After the king (says he) had taken all the precautions he thought proper, for the restoring tranquillity in the kingdom, he chose a council out of the most eminent persons, as well among the clergy as the nobility. Theobald, archbishop, Thomas Becket, archdeacon of Canterbury, who was just made chancellor; Robert, earl of Leicester, great justiciary of the realm, held the first rank in it. At the head of the *cabinet-council* was Matilda his mother, whom long experience, and her own misfortunes, had rendered wise at her own cost. *These two councils being established, &c.*" There was not, in those days, or for many centuries after, any such thing in this country as a *cabinet-council*; and after Henry the Second came to the crown Matilda was never in England. But Rapin makes perpetual mistakes of this nature; and, except in what relates to ecclesiastical matters, about which he seems to have taken more pains, is a most careless and superficial writer of the history of this country, till he comes down to the times of Henry the Seventh. His sensible and learned translator, Mr. Tindal, has corrected many of his errors; but was forced to leave many more, which any reader will see, who will compare Rapin's work with our ancient historians, or with the clearest accounts of our ancient constitution.

P. 328. *He likewise insisted, and not without an ancient claim, that Malcolm should acknowledge himself his vassal for Lothian.*

Some of the modern Scotch historians having denied the fact here asserted, I think it proper to give my authorities, with some short observations. The words of Diceto (Imag. Histor.) under the year 1157, are these: "*Melchomus rex Scotorum reddidit ei (Henrico, scilicet) civitatem Carleul, castrum Baenburg, Novum castrum super Tinam, et comitatem Lodanensem.*" The Norman chronicle of Robertus de Monte has also these words: "*Hoc anno Malcolmus rex Scotorum reddidit Henrico regi quicquid habebat de dominio suo, id est, civitatem Carluith, castrum Baemburch, Novum castrum super Tinam, et comitatum Lodanensem.*" As these are both contemporary testimonies, they are of great weight; and I may add to them the annals of Waverley and Matthew Paris. Yet, I presume, they are all inaccurate in giving the reader to understand, that the county of Lothian was restored to King Henry in the same manner as the other places there mentioned. For only the *sovereignty* of it was yielded to him; the country being still possessed by Malcolm, but held in fief of the English crown, as it had been by Kenneth the Third and other kings of Scotland. And for this reason it was, that, in paying his homage, he did it with a saving *to his royal dignity*; that it might appear, it was only for this part of Scotland, not for the whole kingdom. Had he done homage only for the earldom of Huntingdon, there would have been no need of this saving; since his being a vassal for a county of England could not justly be supposed to impeach his royal dignity, as king of Scotland. And this also accounts for the silence of William of Newbury, who mentions only the

three



three Northern countries, as now restored to Henry; because Lothian was not upon the same foot with them, but still remained in the possession of the Scotch, though under condition of homage and fealty to England. That, in some way or other, it was subject to Henry, a proof may be drawn from the words of Henry himself, in the letters patent he gave to Dermot king of Leinster, the preamble of which is as follows: "Henricus, rex

V. Girald.

"Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, et comes

Cambres.

"Andegaviæ, universis fidelibus suis, Anglis, Nor-

Hibernia

"mannis, Gwalensibus, et Scotis, cunctisque na-

expugnat.

"tionibus suæ ditioni subditis, salutem." The

lib. i. cap. x.

three Northern counties having before been recovered, the only Scotch subjects, or liegemen, Henry could have at this time, were the Scotch inhabiting Lothian, unless we should suppose that some of that nation had siefs in England, of which I find no evidence in records or history. It does not well appear, why Diceto, the annals of Waverley, and the Norman chronicle, in the passages cited above, mention only Carlisle, the castle of Bamburg, and Newcastle upon Tyne, as yielded now to Henry by the king of Scotland; whereas it is certain, from the testimony of William of Newbury, and other good evidence, that all the three Northern counties were delivered up to him. These were indeed the chief places of Cumberland and Northumberland; but the counties should have been mentioned, as they are very distinctly by William of Newbury, a contemporary historian.

V. Neubrig.

l. ii. c. 4.

With regard to the claim which the kings of England had of homage for Lothian, these are the words of the Wallingford chronicle, written by an Abbot, who lived under Henry the Second: "Sug-

V. Chronic.

Johan. Wal-

lingford.

"gessit rex Kineth regi Eadgaro Louthion ad suum

"jus debere pertinere, et hereditare à regibus

Book II.

“ Scotorum possideri. Rex nolens aliquid abruptò
 “ facere, ne post factum poeniteret, regis Kineth
 “ causam curiæ suæ intimavit. Proceres vero, qui
 “ à progenitoribus erant eruditi, nisi sub nomine
 “ homagii regi Angliæ à rege Scotorum impensi,
 “ et præcipuè quia ad tuendum terram illam diffi-
 “ cilis est accessus et parum proficua ejus dominatio,
 “ assensit autem assertioni huic Kineth, *et sub nomine*
 “ *homagii eam petiit et accepit, fecitque regi Eadgaro*
 “ *homagium*, sub cautione multa promittens, quod
 “ populo partis illius antiquas consuetudines non
 “ negaret, et sub nomine et linguâ Anglicanâ per-
 “ manerent. *Quod usque hodie firmum manet.* Sic-
 “ que determinata est vetus querela de Louthion,
 “ et adhuc nova sæpe intentatur.”

Though the passage is evidently mutilated in two places, enough of it is clear, to prove a very ancient dependence of Lothian on the English crown. Which is also confirmed by Matthew of Westminster, with this remarkable circumstance, “ Dedit insuper
 “ ei rex (Eadgarus) mansiones in itinere plurimas,
 “ ut ipse et ejus successores ad festum venientes, ac
 “ denuo revertentes, hospitari valuissent, quæ usque
 “ in tempora regis Henrici secundi, in potestate
 “ regum Scotiæ remanserunt.” Florence of Worcester also so far confirms it, that he reckons Keneth among the kings and princes who swore fealty to Edgar. The story told by this historian of Keneth and seven other princes of the Cumbrian Britons or Welsh having rowed the barge of Edgar on the river Dee, I much doubt of: but his evidence as to the *vassalage* of Keneth is not liable to the same objections.

P. Ibid. *And the English monarch conferred on him the earldom of Huntington, against the claim of the earl of Northampton, to whose father it had been given*

given by Stephen on the death of Henry prince of Scotland. Book II.

No mention is made, in any history or record, of the county of Cambridge being annexed to this grant of earldom of Huntingdon. Yet it appears by records, that David, the grandfather of Malcolm, received the third penny of the county or earldom of Cambridge, when he was earl of Huntingdon. Possibly the two counties were then united. We also find that the young King Henry added it to the grant of Huntingdonshire, which he made to David the brother of William king of Scotland, when he confederated with that prince against his father, in the year 1173. After this we hear no more of this earldom, till Sir John of Haynault, brother of William earl of Holland and Haynault, was made earl of Cambridge by King Edward the Third.

See Camden's
Britannia,
CAM-
BRIDGE-
SHIRE.

P. 331. *but, from some remains of it, which are still to be seen, and for several other reasons, I should judge that it (viz. Offa's Ditch) was rather intended for a boundary, to separate the territories of the English from those of the Welsh, than to protect the former, as a fortification.*

A law of Harold Harefoot is mentioned by Mr. Selden, which enacts, that if any Welshman, coming into England without leave, was taken on this side of Offa's Ditch, his right-hand should be cut off by the king's officer. This statute shews, that so late as in the reign of that Danish monarch, this ditch was considered as a discriminating limit between the two nations; but afterwards, when all the borders of Wales beyond that ditch were filled with English colonies, and the Welsh themselves had submitted to the sovereignty of the English under

Book II.

feudal bonds of allegiance, it was necessarily abrogated and fell into disuse.

P. 333. *but the two younger were subordinate to the eldest, who had North-Wales, and held his royal seat at Aberffraw in the isle of Anglesea, which was the Mona of the Britons.*

Vid. Prefat.
Gul. Clarke
ad Leg. Wal.

The very intelligent and sensible author of the general Preface to Wotton's collection of the Welsh Laws is of opinion, that the sovereignty of the kings of North-Wales over those of South-Wales and Powis-land did not exist in these times, but was a claim set up afterwards, about the days of our Henry the Second. Though I perfectly agree with him in most other points, I do not think his arguments here are sufficient to overturn the authority of so many writers as are unanimous in the other opinion, which I the rather incline to, because it seems that the Welsh would hardly have continued without a head, or under princes independent the one of the other, when they had a constant war to maintain with the Saxons. It is therefore very probable, that they gave a pre-eminence to the king of North-Wales, whose country was the strongest; and that the two others were subordinate to, and dependent on him; as, in each royal family of the three kingdoms, the younger sons were on the eldest.

P. Ibid. *and made a reformation of their political, civil, and municipal laws, which were digested by him into three books.*

Vid. Prefat.
tion: s IV. ad
Leg Wall.

In the four prefaces to these laws, as published in England, I find a great difference with regard to the manner in which Howel Dha made this reformation. The first says, he convened out of every

every *commote* (which was a lesser division of *cantreds*, or *bundreds*) six men, among whom were persons of dignity in the church, bishops, archbishops, abbots, and doctors; that out of the whole number of these, when assembled together, twelve of the wisest laymen were chosen, and one clergyman of the greatest reputation among them for knowledge in the laws, to whom the king gave authority to abolish such laws as they should judge to be bad, and substitute others in their place; which work, being finished, received a sanction from all the assembly. Blegored (who at that time was archdeacon of Landaff) is afterwards mentioned in that preface, as having had a principal hand in this reformation.

The second preface says, that, out of the wisest men in his territories (*in principatu suo*) Howel assembled six from every *cantred* (not *commote*) in all Wales, of which four were laymen, and two were ecclesiasticks; that *these* examined the laws then in use, alleviated what seemed too severe, and aggravated what was too light; left some unaltered; amended, or abrogated others; and enacted some new ones. With this account the fourth preface perfectly agrees.

But the third agrees with the first, that the six men were chosen from every *commote* in Wales; and that they delegated their authority to twelve laymen, and one clergyman, namely, Blegored, of whom no mention is made in the other two.

It is plain, from these differences, that none of the four prefaces were affixed to the laws by Howel Dha, but were added in later times. The first of them is supposed to be the most ancient. Some authors report, that Howel went in person to Rome, and obtained the pope's confirmation of the laws he had compiled. But none of the prefaces men-

Vid. Præfat.
Gul. Clarke
ad Leg. Wal.

Vid. Præfat.
prædict.

Book II.

tion this circumstance; and (as an author who understands the Welsh language affirms) it is not to be found in the original history of Caradoc of Llan-carnon, though it is in the translation of Humphrey Llwyd, published by Dr. Powel: that translator having added, not very judiciously, some things of his own to the text of his author. The fact in question is evidently false: for it is impossible that the pope could have given his sanction to some of these laws; particularly those concerning divorces, in which a much greater liberty is allowed than the see of Rome has ever admitted; a stinking breath in the husband being accounted there a good reason for a divorce, besides other causes, which it will not be necessary or decent to enumerate here.

P. 346. *Twelve knights, of considerable note and distinction, were retained in his service, &c.*

Their names were William de Londres, Richard de Greenfield, or Granville, Paine de Tuberville, Robert de St. Quintin, Richard de Syward, Gilbert de Humfreville, Roger de Berkrolles, Reginald de Sully, Peter le Score, John le Fleming, Oliver de St. John, William le Esterling, called for shortness Stradling.

P. 382. *He therefore resolved to attempt it, and having drawn out of the whole militia of England a very great army, he led it through Cheshire into Flintshire, &c.*

Vid. Chron.
Norm. sub
ann. 1156.

According to the Norman chronicle of Robertus de Monte, there was something very particular in the manner of raising this army. His words are these: "Rex Henricus præparavit maximam expeditionem, ita ut duo milites de tota Anglia tertium pararent, ad opprimendum Gualenses." Mr. Madox has shewn, in his History of the Exchequer, that

that a scutage was raised for this war on the clergy that held of the crown by knight-service. We must therefore understand the words above-cited, as only extending to lay-fees. But I rather doubt the truth of it, as it is not confirmed by our records, or by any English writer who lived in those times. I find indeed the same words in the annals of Waverley; but as it is probable this part of those annals was not compiled till long afterwards (for the words of the Norman chronicle are often transcribed in them) I think it does not add much to the credit of the original author.

P. 383. *But this appearance was only an artifice to draw the English into a narrow and difficult pass, between two ranges of hills, &c.*

Camden, in his *Britannia*, says, that this pass is See Camden's
Britannia,
FLINT-
SHIRE. near the river Alen; and it appears to have been formed by some hills, which, in the map he has given of Flintshire, are placed to the north of that river between Kilken and Flint. Dr. Powel, in his *Notes to the Welsh chronicle*, mentions this action, as it is described by William of Newbury; and says, that the streights, which the English army were then attempting to pass, were at Counsylvth, near Flint. Probably they mean the same place. There was another road on the sands along the sea-shore, which Henry, it may be presumed, avoided at first, from an apprehension of some danger in passing those sands, though he afterwards took it, as safer than the former from the ambuscades of the Welsh. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his account of this country, has mentioned both. His words are these: "In cellula de Basinwerke pernoctavimus. In crastino vero longum vivumque per loca sabulum, non absque formidine, permeantes, sylvestria de Coleshull, id est, Carbonis colle, à dextrâ
" reli-

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“reliquimus, ubi Anglorum rex, Henricus secun-
 “dus, nostris diebus, cum primo Walham hostiliter
 “intravit, juvenili impetu et inconsulto calore
 “arctum illud sylvestre penetrare præsumens, cum
 “detrimento suorum et damno non modico, am-
 “biguam bellorum aleam expertus est.” The
 place which Camden and Giraldus call Coleffnull,
 or, in modern English, *Colefhill*, is called in the
 Welsh chronicle *Cod Eulo*. But it is observable,
 that, by the account which is given in that chro-
 nicle of this engagement, it seems that the king
 was not present in it himself, but only a detach-
 ment from his camp near Chester. Nevertheless,
 the clear testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis, William
 of Newbury, and Gervase of Canterbury, contem-
 porary writers; and the duel and condemnation of
 Henry de Essex, in consequence of it, leave us no
 room to doubt that he was there in person. Per-
 haps the error is not in the chronicle, but in Hum-
 phrey Llwyd’s translation, which not understanding
 the original language, I am forced to make use of,
 as published by Dr. Powel, and since, with some
 alterations, by the Rev. Mr. Wynne.

P. 393. *and this sufficiently accounts for none of those
 coins having ever been found.*

Mr. Folkes, in his book on English coins, men-
 tions some pennies coined at York with the
 name Eustacius. But as Eustace was the king’s
 eldest son, and as his father desired to have him
 crowned in his own life-time, I do not reckon these
 among the coins abovementioned; though these
 also would undoubtedly have been melted down
 and destroyed by King Henry the Second, if they
 had not been lost, or secreted. Mr. Folkes also
 mentions another coin he had seen in the Earl of
 Pembroke’s collection, that has the name of King

Stephen only on the reverse; and on the fore side a profile head with a crozier and + HEN...VS EP. C. which he supposes to be the head of Henry bishop of Winchester, brother to the king (see Folkes's Table of English Coins, p. 5.) But probably this was coined at one of the Royal Mints.

P. 400. *Some accounts that are given of the luxury and expence of his table are incredible, &c.*

Fitzstephen tells us, that one day there was served up to Becket, during this embassy, a single dish of eels, which cost five pounds sterling (*centum solidis sterlingorum emptum.*) He adds, that it was talked of all over the country; and well it might; for, twenty shillings in those days containing in them as much silver as sixty in these, or little less, if we estimate silver at only five times above the present value, as much was paid for this single dish of eels, as if we now bought one for seventy five pounds sterling, or thereabout. But such a price exceeds all belief. And it must be observed, that this author is very apt to exaggerate in his accounts of those times; but more especially in what he writes to the honor of Becket.

P. 413. *Nor does it seem that the policy of those times ever regarded his dominions upon the French continent as prejudicial to England. Those which were maritime provinces (and most of them were so) appeared very commodious to the English, on account of their trade; especially Normandy and Bretagne, which, lying opposite to their coasts, secured to that nation the sovereignty of the whole British ocean.*

There is a fine passage in the speech, which Lord Bacon, in his History of King Henry the Seventh, puts into the mouth of Thomas Morton, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England,

land, as delivered to the parliament called by that prince in the third year of his reign, on the war which the king of France was then preparing to make against the duke of Bretagne. The words are these: "If the French king shall make a province of Bretagne, and join it to the crown of France, then it is worthy the consideration how this may import England, as well in the increment of the greatness of France by the addition of such a country, *which stretches its boughs unto our seas*, as in depriving this nation, and leaving it naked of so firm and assured confederates, as the Britons have ever been. For then it will come to pass, that whereas, not long since, *this realm was mighty upon the continent, first in territory, and after in alliance, in respect of Burgundy and Bretagne, which were confederates indeed, but dependent confederates*; now the one being already cast, partly into the greatness of France and partly into that of Austria, the other is like wholly to be cast into the greatness of France; *and this island shall remain confined in effect within the salt-waters, and girt about with the coast-countries of two mighty monarchs.*"

On this I would observe, that a more dreadful evil than Lord Bacon makes Chancellor Morton express his apprehensions of, in the foregoing passage, would have come upon England, if the ambitious designs of France had not been checked by two *grand alliances* formed in the last century. For, without the resistance they made, not only Bretagne, but *all* the territories of the house of Burgundy, *which stretch their boughs unto our seas*, would have been added to her empire; and *we should have been girt about with the coast-countries of ONE mighty monarch, instead of two.* The present state of the Dutch and the Austrian Netherlands is not such as will

will absolutely remove that fear from any thinking man: but there will be much more reason to dread it, if we either become indifferent to the state of the continent, or, from the load of our debt, shall be unable to assist our confederates there against the invasions of that power, which hitherto nothing has been able to restrain; but the wealth and valor of this nation exerted in defence of the liberty of Europe, wherein its own is comprised.

P. 421. *Instead therefore of hastening to lay siege to Toulouse, while Louis remained in that city, he declared his resolution; that, out of respect to the person of that king, he would not besiege it.*

For this I have the authority of William of Newbury, the Norman chronicle, Diceto, Brompton, and two contemporary writers of Becket's life, Fitzstephen and John of Salisbury, the latter of whom, from his very intimate connection with that prelate, must have perfectly known all the circumstances of this affair. But Gervase of Canterbury and Hoveden say, that King Henry besieged Toulouse, and lay before it some months. Father Daniel, to reconcile as well as he could those contradictory accounts, has supposed, that, after the town was invested by Henry, and ready to surrender, Louis forced one of the enemy's quarters, and made his way into it; upon which Henry raised the siege. But for this manner of bringing the king of France to the relief of the town he has not a word of contemporary authority. The account given of it by William of Newbury is much the most probable, and consistent with itself. "Idem: "vero comes, tanti exercitus impetum pertimescens, regis Francorum, qui uxoris suæ germanus: "et filiorum avunculus erat, auxilium imploravit: "Qui Zelando pro nepotibus festinus adveniens cum:

"aliquantâ

Pere Dan.
Histoire de
France, l. vii.
sub ann. 1158.

NOTES TO THE LIFE

“ aliquantâ militiâ Tolosam intravit. Quod cum
 “ innotuisset regi Anglorum, personæ regis ibidem
 “ consistentis deferens civitatem oppugnare distulit,
 “ et ad pervadendam provinciam expugnandasque
 “ munitiones convertit exercitum.”

P. 425. *but in that month they concluded a treaty of peace, the terms of which were very advantageous and honorable to Henry, &c.*

This treaty is not in Rymer, nor any printed book. But there is a very old copy of it among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, which, I believe, is the only one extant. It is joined to some select epistles of Becket, which seem, by the hand, to have been collected soon after the death of that prelate. This I presume was added to that collection, because Becket, whose name is among the witnesses to it, had a principal share in negotiating it on the part of his master. Not only it appears, that no modern historian has had any knowledge of it; but there is reason to think, that some of those who lived in that age did not know the contents of it; especially of the first part concerning the Vexin, which absolutely justifies King Henry the Second from any imputation of fraud in the method of acquiring that province. A transcript of it may be seen in the Appendix.

P. 428. *It is observable, that the first mention we meet with in history of this imposition on knight's-fees, which became afterwards very frequent, is upon this occasion.*

The words of the Norman chronicle about it are these: “ Rex Henricus iturus in expeditionem prædictam, et considerans longitudinem et difficultatem viæ,
 “ nolens vexare agrarios milites, nec burgenses nec rusti-

“ eos,

“*cos, sumptis LX solidis Andegavensium in Normannia*
 “*de feudo uniuscujusque lorice, et de reliquis omnibus,*
 “*tam in Normannia quam in Anglia, sive etiam aliis*
 “*terris suis, secundum hoc quod ei visum fuit, capi-*
 “*tales barones suos cum paucis secum duxit, solidarios*
 “*vero milites innumeros.*” (V. Chron. Norman,
 P. 995.)

This passage expresses with great clearness and precision both the motive and manner of introducing this computation for personal service in foreign wars.

Gervase of Canterbury also mentions this scutage in the following words: “Hoc anno (1159) rex
 “scotagium, sive scutagium, de Anglia accepit,
 “cujus summa fuit centum millia et quater-viginti
 “millia librarum argenti. De aliis vero terris sibi
 “subjectis *inauditam* similiter census fecit exac-
 “tionem.” Nevertheless Mr. Madox has shewn,
 in his History of the Exchequer, that a levy of
 scutage had been made in this kingdom, before the
 war of Toulouse, viz. in the second year of this
 king; but it was only assent upon the bishops and ab-
 bots who held *in capite* of the crown; whereas this
 was general.

There is a passage in the ancient treatise, called
 Dialogus de Scaccario, written in the reign of Henry
 the Second, and published by Mr. Madox, from
 the Black and Red books of the Exchequer, which
 makes a particular mention of scutage: “Fit inter-
 “dum, ut imminente vel insurgente in regnum
 “hostium machinatione, decernat rex de singulis
 “feodis militum summam aliquam solvi, marcam
 “(scilicet) vel libram unam, unde militibus stipen-
 “dia vel donativa succedant. Mavult enim prin-
 “ceps stipendiarios quam domesticos bellicis op-
 “ponere casibus. Hæc itaque summa, quia nomine
 “scutorum solvitur, scutagium nuncupatur.” From
 these

Lib. i. c. 22.
 tit. Scuta-
 gium.

these words one should think, that scutage had been raised for the defence of the kingdom against invasions. But, besides that the Norman chronicle, which, down to the year 1161, was written by Robert de Monte, a contemporary author, shews us the contrary; the ancient form of charging it was, *pro exercitu, de iis qui non abierunt cum rege* (see History of the Exchequer); and, during this reign, I never find it taken but for some war beyond the English borders. And Lyttelton, in his *Tenures*, says, that *those which hold by escuage* (which is a French translation of the Latin word *scutagium*) *ought to do their service out of the realm*, (see Lyttelton's *Tenures*, Grand Serjeantie, sect. 153.) He also says, that *they who hold by castleward, pay no escuage*, (*Tenures of knight-service*, sect. 111.) the reason of which says lord Coke, was, because castleward was a service *within the realm*. Therefore the words *imminente vel insurgente in regnum hostium machinatione*, cited above from the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, must be considered as loose and inaccurate.

Mr. Madox supposes, in the History of the Exchequer, that, till the times of King Henry the Third, whenever any scutages were to be levied, the barons and tenants *in capite* did, by the king's command, send in certificates of their respective fees, either *toties quoties*, or, at least, most usually. For it appears by a record, that, in the eighteenth year of Henry the Second, some persons were charged with the scutage of Ireland, under the title, *De iis qui cartas non miserunt*. (See History of the Exchequer, p. 440. c. 16.)

In the passage quoted above, from the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, it is said, that a mark, or a pound, was the scutage usually charged upon every knight's-fee. No computation can be made at what rate each knight's-fee was charged to the scutage for the war of Toulouse,

Toulouse, because, though we know the whole sum produced by it, we are not assured from how many knight's-fees it was raised. But, by the greatness of the sum, the rate must have been considerably more than a mark, or a pound. I should suppose, that the scutages varied according to the service for which the military tenant commuted. If he was required to follow the king to a very distant country, the composition to exempt him from the obligation of performing that service was higher. But where it was taken for a war on the borders of England, a lighter might suffice. The first scutage raised by King Henry the Second for the army serving in Wales, was at one pound a knight's-fee. This was in the second year of his reign, when the prelates only paid it, as appears by a passage in the Red book of the Exchequer. Yet Alexander de Swereford, who made the collections in that book, under Henry the Third, mentions another scutage for Wales, in the fifth year of Henry the Second, which amounted to two marks for every knight's-fee. It must have been charged at the latter end of that year, when we find that some commotions arose in Wales, the king being still abroad in the war of Toulouse. And it is very surprising, that in the abovementioned book there should be no notice taken of the great scutage for that war; but only of this for Wales. I doubt whether this was a scutage. Alexander de Swereford says himself, that it was entered upon the rolls, not *scutagium*, but *donum*; and that some paid it, who did not hold by military tenures. It also appears, that it was determined by the Chief-justice of the Common-pleas in the reign of Edward the Third, *that escuage shall not be granted but where the king goeth in proper person*, (see Lyttelton's Tenures, p. 20. tit. Escuage.) As therefore Henry did not go

himself

L. Rub. fol. not. 47. col. 2.
Madox Hist. of Exchequer. Escuage, c. 16. p. 435.

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himself to this war, this could not be taken as *escuage*, but must have been granted as an *auxilium*, or *donum*. Mr. Madox observes, that, in Henry the Second's time, aids were called *dona*. (V. Præfat ad Dial. de Scaccario.)

L. Ruber, &
Madox, ut
supra.

The words of Alexander de Swereford are very exprefs to prove, that no scutage had been raised in England, before the reign of Henry the Second. *Primum omnium scutagiorum, prout rumor ex rotulis ad me devenit, assisum fuit anno regni regis Henrici, filii imperatricis, secundo.* Nevertheless there is an article in the printed copies of King John's *Magna Charta*, taken from Matthew Paris by Dr. Brady, and by Wilkins, in his Collection of Anglo-Saxon laws; which if it were genuine, would contradict this assertion. It stand thus: "Scutagium de cætero capiatur, sicut capi tempore regis Henrici avi nostri consuevit." Now, as *avi nostri* cannot signify the *father* of John, but may of his *great-grandfather*; this would be a proof, that scutage was taken in the time of King Henry the First. But this article is not found in the most authentic copies. And I make no doubt, that it got into Matthew Paris's copy from the charter of Henry the Third, where it stands very properly, because Henry the Second was *grandfather* to that king.

See the Edition of it by Blackstone.

Mr. Madox indeed has mentioned a writ, which he found in the private Archives of Westminster-college, and by which Henry the First grants to the abbots and monks of Westminster an exemption from scutage, for an estate they held of the earl of Chester; but, even admitting the writ to be genuine, it will be no proof against the opinion of Alexander de Swereford; because *scutagium* (as Mr. Madox himself tells us) *when used in an extensive sense, did anciently signify any payment made upon knight's fees.* We also know, that it signified *servitium*

vitium scuti, or knight's-service. And therefore the words of the writ, *Quiete de scutagio et omnibus secularibus consuetudinibus*, may be well understood to mean an exemption from military service, and all other secular customs.

If a military tenant either went in person with the king to a war out of England, or sent another to serve for him, he paid no scutage. Thus, in the eighteenth year of Henry II. several persons are charged to escuage, under this title, *De scutagio militum, qui non abierunt in Hiberniam, nec milites pro se miserunt*. See Madox of Escuage, Hist. of Excheq. c. xvi. p. 438, 439. Indeed escuage, in the sense of a pecuniary payment, being a *commutation for a service arising out of a tenure*, viz. the tenure by knight's-service, when that service was performed in another manner, by the military tenant's sending a man to serve for him, such *commutation* could not take place. There was also a difference between this composition by escuage, and the *finés* paid to king by barons and knights holding in chief of the crown, for not serving abroad, when they had been ordered to do so by summons from the king. Earl William de Vernun fined to King John, *pro licentia remanendi*, and that the king would receive the scutages of his knight's-fees which he held in capite. In the reign of King Henry the Third, several tenants by knight's-service paid *finés* to the king, that they might not take the voyage into Gascoigne, besides the scutages which they voluntarily granted to the king for that voyage. (See Madox, ut supra, c. xvi. p. 459.) These instances shew, that scutages were not always accepted by the king, in lieu of the duty of personal service from his military tenants. Nor indeed could they; because mercenary soldiers, and chiefs of experience to command them, were not always to be had at the time they were wanted. And it

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seems

seems to have been in the option of the king, whether he would accept them or not. Mr. Madox has given it as his opinion, "that *personal service* was required *most chiefly*, if not *solely*, of the tenants holding by knight's-service *in capite, ut de corona*. For, if a man held his land of the king by knight's-service, as of an honor then being in the king's hands, and not of the crown, such tenant was not indispensably obliged to do *personal service in the king's army*, but was to pay the king escuage when it was assent. At least this was alledged to be the usage in the reign of King Edward the Second, in the case of Gerard de Wachesham and Thomas de Inglestorp;" (see Madox, ut supra, p. 454.) I much doubt whether it was so in the times of King Henry the Second; as I see no reason for it in the feudal policy; the tenants of an escheated barony being obliged to perform the same service to the king, that they would have performed to the baron. The same author says, "Sometimes the barons and tenants by knight's-service were amerced, for not sending their knights to serve for them in the king's army; and sometimes they were disseised of their land for not doing their service;" of both which he gives several instances from the rolls, (see Madox, ut supra, p. 461.) "But when barons or knights, holding *in capite*, did actual service in the king's army, for so many fees as they were answerable for; or if they sent knights in their stead, or if they made fine for the same, they were wont to be acquitted of escuage;" (see Madox, ut supra, p. 462.) It must be observed, that, that as some knight's-fees were smaller than others, the scutage upon them was also less in proportion.

P. 430. *whereas we find it declared, by the charter of King John, that scutages ought to be assayed by the tenants in chief of the crown assembled in parliament.*

Although this clause be left out of all the subsequent charters, yet it appears, by a writ of King Edward the First's reign, cited by Mr. St. John, on the behalf of Mr. Hampden, in the case of ship-money, that scutage was granted by parliament: "Datum est nobis intelligi, quod plures sunt qui tenent per servitium militare de nobis, qui contradicunt solvere *scutagia, quæ nobis sunt concessa per commune concilium regni nostri.*" And many processes, issued for the levying of escuage granted in Edward the First's time, were released by Edward the Second; *Quia dictum servitium non fuit communiter factum*; that is, says Mr. St. John, that it was not done *per commune concilium regni.*

The words of Sir Thomas Lyttleton, concerning this matter, require some observation: "And after such a voyage royal into Scotland, it is commony said, that, by authority of parliament, the escuage shall be assessed, and put in certain; that is to say, a certain sum of money, how much every one which holdeth by a whole knight's-fee, which was neither by himself, nor by any other for him, with the king, shall pay to his lord, of whom he holds his land by escuage. As, put the case, that it was ordained by the authority of the parliament, that every one which holdeth by a whole knight's-fee, who was not with the king, shall pay to his lord 40s. That he which holdeth by the moiety of a knight's-fee, shall pay to his lord but 20s. and he which holdeth by the fourth part of a knight's-fee, shall pay but 10s. and he which hath more, more; and which less, less. And some hold by the custom, that, if escuage

Coke upon
Lyttleton,
sect. 97.

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Sect. 98. *ibid.*

“ be assessed by authority of parliament at any sum
 “ of money, they shall pay but the moiety of that
 “ sum, and some but the fourth part of that sum.
 “ But because the escuage that they should pay is
 “ uncertain; for that it is not certain how the par-
 “ liament will assess the escuage, they hold by
 “ knight’s service. But otherwise it is of escuage
 “ certain, of which shall be spoken in the tenure
 “ of socage.” The same author says, in his chap-
 “ ter on socage, sect. 120. “ Also if a man holdeth
 “ of his lord by escuage certain, i. e. in this man-
 “ ner, when the escuage runneth, or is assessed by
 “ parliament, to a greater or lesser sum, that the
 “ tenant shall pay to his lord but half a mark for
 “ escuage, and no more nor less, to how great a
 “ sum, or to how little the escuage runneth, &c.
 “ such tenure is tenure in socage, and not knight’s-
 “ service.”

The former chapter on escuage further declares,
 sect. 100. “ And it is to be understood, that, when
 “ escuage is so assessed by authority of parliament,
 “ every lord of whom the land is holden by escuage,
 “ shall have the escuage so assessed by parliament;
 “ because it is intended by the law, that, at the
 “ beginning, such tenements were given by the
 “ lords to the tenants to hold by such services, to
 “ defend their lords, as well as the king, and to
 “ put in quiet their lords and the king from the
 “ Scotch aforesaid. And because such tenements
 “ came first from the lords, it is reason that they
 “ should have the escuage of their tenants. And
 “ the lords, in such case, may distrain for the es-
 “ cuage so assessed; or they, in some cases, may
 “ have the king’s writs directed to the sheriffs of
 “ the same counties, &c. to levy such escuage for
 “ them, as it appeareth by the register.”

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All that is said about *escuage*, in the passages here recited, relates to the methods in which it was raised upon the *sub-vassals*: and it is declared, that they pay it by right of their tenure, *because it is intended by the law, that, at the beginning, such tenements were given by the lords to the tenants to hold by such services, &c.* And though mention is only made of a war against Scotland, as if they had been bound to serve no where else, Lord Coke observes very rightly, “that Scotland is only put for an example; for that if the tenure be in Walliam, Hiberniam, Vasconiam, Pictavium, &c. it is all one.”

But it is further observable, that, from the words, *after such a voyage royal into Scotland, it is commonly said, that by authority of parliament, the escuage shall be assessed, and put in certain*, it seems as if the assessment by parliament was posterior to the expedition for which the *escuage* was to be paid. Whereas it is said by R. de Monte, that Henry the Second took *escuage* on account of his expedition against Toulouse, before he went thither: “*Rex Henricus iturus in expeditionem prædictam, et considerans longitudinem et difficultatem viæ, nolens vexare agrarios milites, nec burgenfes, nec rusticos, sumptis LX solidis Andegavensium in Normannia de feudo uniuscujusque lorice, et de reliquis omnibus, &c. secundum hoc quod ei visum fuit, capitales barones suos cum paucis secum duxit, solidarios vero milites innumeros.*” (V. Chron. Norm. p. 995.) Probably it was found more convenient to make the assessments after the service, than before, as it could not be previously known from what number of the tenants by knight-service it was to be taken, because the payment of it might be avoided by those, who either went in person themselves, or sent men to serve for them. But the declaration, that the king

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would

would accept it in lieu of personal service, must have been prior to the time of performing the service: for, otherwise the persons concerned would not have known, whether they might have the benefit of such a commutation. Perhaps notice of this may have been given by the summons.

It appears from the passages above-cited, that some military tenants held under condition of paying but half of the escuage assent by the parliament, and others but a fourth. Nay, some there were, who so held, as that they were only to pay half a mark to their lord upon an assessment of escuage, whither higher or lower; which was called escuage certain; and such tenants were not understood to hold by knight's-service, but their tenure was socage. This was a great deviation from the first institution of military fiefs; so great, that it entirely altered their nature. But I find no trace of any such thing in the times that I write of; nor does it appear, that it extended to tenants in chief. All that Sir Thomas Lyttelton says of such tenants is towards the latter end of his chapter on escuage, after having treated of the manner in which it was paid by their vassals: "*But of such tenants, as hold of the king by escuage, which were not with the king in Scotland, the king himself shall have the escuage.*" Sect. 101. Lord Coke says, in his notes to sect. 97. of the same chapter, "*Here is a secret of law included, that, albeit escuage uncertain be due by tenure; yet because the assessment thereof concerned so many, and so great a number of the subjects of the realm, it could not be assessed by the king, or by any other but by parliament; and this was by common law.*" He adds, "*No escuage was assessed by parliament since the reign of Edward the Second.*" Nevertheless it appears, that, when Lyttelton wrote,

it was the common opinion, ~~that~~ it should be so assessed. And he seems to speak of it as *law*.

Lord Coke also says, "And it is to be observed, *Sect. 97, & sequent.*
 " that, if he that holds of the king by escuage go-
 " eth, or findeth another to go for him, with the
 " king, &c. then he shall have escuage of his te-
 " nants, that hold of him by such service, *which*
 " *must be assessed by parliament.* But if the king's
 " tenant goeth not with the king, then he shall pay
 " for his default escuage, *and shall have no escuage*
 " *of his tenants.*" This latter assertion is false; for

Mr. Madox says, in his History of the Exchequer, that "when the lord, holding *in capite*, did personal
 " service in the king's army, or paid, or became
 " *duly charged with his escuage to the king; he was*
 " *entitled to have escuage of his tenants for the fees*
 " *which they held of him, and which he held of the*
 " *king in capite.*" And this he proves by records.

For instance, in the reign of Henry the Third, Henry de Braybrok had a writ of aid directed to the sheriff, *to distrain the knights who held of him the fees, which he held of the king in capite, for the escuage which he stood charged with at the Exchequer.* Mr.

Madox adds, "that in the elder times, in case the
 " lord was entitled to receive escuage of his tenants,
 " such escuage was usually collected by the lord

" *per manum suam*, who used to justiciate or distrain

" his tenants to pay it. Whether it was all along *V. Madox Hist. Excheq. c. 16. sect. 8.*

" necessary for the lord to have the king's leave or *sect. 9.*

" authority to collect his escuage, *per manum suam*,

" or no; such leave or authority was sometimes
 " granted to particular lords." But he shews, that

afterwards escuage was collected by the sheriffs of the counties. "In the twenty-seventh year of

" Henry the Third, *when escuage was granted to the*

" *king by the common-council of the realm*, writs were

" awarded to the sheriffs of the counties, comman-

" ding

“ ding them to take inquisition by oath of knights,
 “ and lawful men, to find what lands were holden
 “ of the king, or of others, who held of the king
 “ *in capite*, whether of the new feoffment or the
 “ old, and to distrain the tenants of such fees, to
 “ pay their escuage for the same.”

P. 438. *But as Victor came, and submitted his cause to the council, it gave a reasonable prejudice in his behalf: his adversary was censured as guilty of contumacy; and, after a proper examination of witnesses, he was declared to have been duly elected.*

That he was duly elected, I will not affirm; but certainly the pre-engagement, which it appeared that the cardinals of Alexander's party had laid themselves under before the election, was contrary to the liberty required by the canons. (V. Radevicum, l. ii. c. 52. 71.) And if the nobility, people, and clergy of Rome had a right to interfere in it, (as, notwithstanding the Bull of Pope Innocent the Second, I presume they had) Victor, whom, it seems, they all inclined to support, may, upon the whole, have had a majority of votes in his favor. But though mention is made, in some of the letters which justify his election, of their having very strongly declared themselves on his side, yet the principal stress was not laid upon that, but upon the disqualification of the cardinals his opponents, by the oaths they had taken; because, I suppose, to deny the authority of a papal decree was not thought prudent; and the other plea was sufficient to prevail on the council to determine for Victor.

P. 447. *and prevailed upon them to celebrate the form of a marriage, or public and solemn espousals, between Henry his Son, not yet six years old, and Margaret of France, who was still a younger infant.*

Diceto

Diceto says, that Prince Henry at this time was seven years old; but this must be a mistake; for (as he tells us himself in another place) that prince was born on the last day of February, in the year 1155; with which date of his birth the other contemporary historians agree. The same author says, that the princess of France at this time was three years old; but I should suppose her older; because I think, that King Henry would hardly have desired to have her sent into Normandy, while she was at the breast of her nurse, as she must have been in the year 1158, if she was but three years old in 1160.

Book II.

V. Diceto
 Imag. Hist.
 sub ann. 1160
 & 1155.

APPENDIX

A P P E N D I X

T O T H E

S E C O N D B O O K

O F T H E

History of the Life of King HENRY
the Second.

Nº. I.

Carta Libertatum Angliæ Regis Henrici II.

From the Red Book of the Exchequer.

HENRICUS, Dei gratiâ, Rex Angliæ, Dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, Comes Andegaviæ, baronibus et fidelibus suis, Francis et Anglicis, This is referred to in p. 300.
Salutem.

Sciatis me, ad honorem Dei et Sanctæ Ecclesiæ, et pro communi emendatione totius regni mei, concessisse et reddidisse, et præsentî cartâ meâ confirmasse, Deo et Sanctæ Ecclesiæ, et omnibus comitibus et baronibus, et omnibus hominibus meis, omnes consuetudines, quas rex Henricus, avus meus, eis dedit et concessit. Similiter etiam omnes malas consuetudines, quas ipse delevit et remisit, ego remitto

remitto et deleri concedo, pro me, et hæredibus meis.

Quare volo et firmiter præcipio, quod Sancta Ecclesia, et omnes comites et barones, et omnes mei homines, omnes illas consuetudines, et donationes, et libertates, et liberas consuetudines, habeant, et teneant libere et quiete, bene et in pace, et integre, de me et hæredibus meis, sibi et hæredibus suis, adeo libere, et quiete, et plenarie, in omnibus, sicut rex Henricus, avus meus, eis dedit et concessit, et cartâ suâ confirmavit.

Teste Ricardo de Luci.

Nº II.

Petri Bleffenfis Epist.

Ep. LXVI. Ad Gualter Archiepiscopum Panormitanum.

This is referred to in p. 302.

BENEDICTUS Dominus Deus, &c. &c. Quod autem à me cum omni instantia postulatis, ut formam et mores domini regis Angliæ vobis sub certa descriptione transmittam, meas quidem facultates excedit: ad hoc enim satis insufficiens videretur Mantuani vena ingenii. Ego tamen quod scio vobis sine invidia et detractiōe communico. De David legitur, ad commendationem decoris ejus, quoniam rufus erat. Vos autem dominum regem subrufum hactenus extitisse noveritis, nisi quia colorem hunc venerabilis senectus, et superveniens canities aliquantulum alteravit. Statura ejus mediocris est, ut et inter parvos magnus appareat, nec inter majores minimus videatur. Caput ejus sphaericum est, tanquam sapientiæ magnæ sedes, et alti consilii speciale sacrarium. Ea vero est capitis quantitas,

quantitas, ut collo et toti corpori proportionali moderatione respondeat. Oculi ejus orbiculati sunt, dum pacati est animi, columbini et simplices: sed in ira et turbatione cordis quasi scintillantes ignem et in impetu fulminantes. Cæsaries ejus damna calvitii non veretur, superveniente tamen artificii capillorum tonsura. Leonina facies quasi in quadrangulum se dilatat. Eminentia naris ad totius corporis venustatem naturali est moderatione propensa. Arcuati pedes, equestres tibiæ, thorax extensior, lacerti pugiles virum fortem, agilem, et audacem denunciant: in quodam tamen articulo pedis ejus pars unguis innascitur carni, atque in contumeliam totius pedis vehementer increscit. Manus ejus quadam grossitie sua hominis incuriam protestantur. Earum enim cultum prorsus negligit; nec unquam, nisi aves deferat, utitur chyrothecis. Singulis diebus in missis, in consiliis, et aliis publicis actionibus regni. Semper à mane usque ad vesperam stat in pedes. Et licet tibiæ habeat frequenti percussione calcitrantium equorum enormiter vulneratus et lividas, nisi tamen equitet, vel comedat, nunquam sedet. Una die, si opus fuerit, quatuor aut quinque diætas excurrit, et sic, inimicorum machinamenta præveniens, artes eorum frequenter inopinata subitatione deludit. Ocreis sine plica, pileis sine fastu, et vestibis utitur expeditis. Vehemens amator nemorum, dum cessat à præliis, in avibus et canibus se exercet. Caro siquidem ejus se mole pinguedinis enormiter onerasset, nisi quia ventris insolentiam jejuniis et exercitio domat, atque in ascendendo equum, et in excurrando, levitatem adolescentiæ servans potentissimos ad laborem singulis fere diebus itinerando fatigat. Non enim, sicut alii reges, in palatio suo jacet, sed per provincias currens explorat facta omnium, illos potissime judicans, quos constituit judices aliorum. Nemo est

est argutior in consiliis, in eloquio torrentior, secturior in periculis, in prosperis timidior, constantior in adversis. Quem semel dilexit, vix dediligit: quem vero semel exorsum habuit, vix in gratiam familiaritatis admittit. Semper in manibus ejus sunt arcus, enses, venabula, et sagittæ; nisi sit in consiliis, aut in libris. Quoties enim potest a curis et solitudinibus respirare, secreta se occupat lectione, aut in cuncto clericorum aliquem nodum quæstionis laborat evolvere. Nam cum rex vester bene literas noverit, rex noster longe literatior est. Ego enim in litterali scientia facultates utriusque cognovi. Scitis, quod dominus rex Siciliæ per annum discipulus meus fuit, et qui à vobis versificatoriae atque litteratoriae artis primitias habuerat, per industriam et sollicitudinem meam beneficium scientiæ plenioris obrinuit. Quam cito autem egressus sum regnum, ipse libris abjectis ad otium se contulit palatinum.

Verumtamen apud dominum regem Anglorum, quotidiana ejus schola est litteratissimorum conversatio jugis, et discussio quæstionum. Nullus rege nostro est, honestior in loquendo, in comedendo urbanior, moderatior in bibendo. Nullus magnificentior in donis, nullus munificentior in elemosynis: ideoque quasi unguentum effusum est nomen ejus, et eleemosynas illius enarrat omnis Ecclesia Sanctorum. Rex noster pacificus, victoriosus in bellis, gloriosus in pace: super omnia desiderabilia hujus mundi zelatur et procurat pacem populi sui. Ad pacem populi spectat immensitas illa pecuniarum, quam donat, quam recipit, quam congregat, quam dispergit. In muris, in propugnaculis, in munitionibus, in fossatis, in clausuris ferarum et piscium, et in palatiorum ædificiis nullus subtilior, nullusque magnificentior invenitur. Pater ejus, potentissimus et nobilissimus comes, fines suos amplissime dilatavit: sed iste patris facultatibus superad-

dens

dens in fortitudine manus suæ ducatum Normanniæ, ducatum Aquitaniæ, ducatum Britannæ, regnum Angliæ, regnum Scotiæ, regnum Hybernæ, regnum Walliæ, paternæ magnificentiæ titulos inæstimabiliter ampliavit. Nullus mansuetior est afflictis, nullus affabilior pauperibus, nullus importabilior est superbis: quadam enim divinitatis imagine semper studuit opprimere fastuosos, oppressos erigere, et adversus superbiæ tumorem continuas persecutiones at exitiales molestias suscitare. Cum autem juxta regni consuetudinem in electionibus faciendis potissimas et potentissimas habeat partes, habuit tamen semper manus ab omni venalitate innoxias et immunes. Has et alias tam animi quam corporis dotes, quibus ipsum natura egregie præ cæteris insignivit, tango summotenus, non describo: meam enim profiteor insufficientiam, crederemque sub tanta sudare materia Tullium, aut Maronem. Illud sane tantillum, quod de forma et moribus ejus, ad instantiam vestram, breviter delibavi, mihi temeritati à pluribus adscribetur: videbor enim, aut onus importabile præsumpsisse, aut plurimum de magnificentia tanti viri per invidentiam recidisse. Ego tamen vestræ serviens caritati, quod possum facio, et quod scio vestræ postulationi promptissima voluntate communico, atque inter cæteros magnificos viros, qui de laudibus domini mei scribunt, ego cum paupere vidua minutum devotionis gazophylacium mitto. Quod autem de morte beati martyris quæritis, in verbo domini et in ordine diaconi vobis dico, me nullo modo habere in conscientia, ipsum hujus rei culpabilem existisse: hujusque fidem plenissimam vobis facient dominus Theodinus Portuensis episcopus, et dominus Albertus Cancellarius, qui propter hoc in partibus nostris legatione fungentes exploraverunt, et innocentiam viri cognoverunt, atque sub umbra illius hoc a quibusdam

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atten:

attentatum fuisse, totamque hanc iniquitatem à
 sanctuario processisse. Accepta siquidem ab eis ca-
 nonica purgatione illius, illi de mandato summi
 pontificis publice sententiaverunt, cum ab hoc eri-
 mine coram Deo et hominibus esse innoxium, et in
 quosdam magnates, quorum malitiam in hac parte
 manifeste convicerant, notam infamiæ retorserunt.
 Illud quoque noveritis, dominum regem gloriosum
 martyrem in omnibus augustis suis patronum ha-
 bere præcipuum. Eadem siquidem die, qua primo
 tumulum martyris visitavit, regem Scotiæ persecu-
 torem et impugnatores fortissimum, captum vin-
 culis carceribus mancipavit. Continuatoque die
 cepit favore successuum ope martyris de universis
 hostibus gloriosissime triumphavit. Scitis igitur
 certissime, quod caritatem illam, qua se olim rex
 et martyr mutuo dilexerunt, neque mors neque
 gladius abolevit: fortis enim est dilectio, ut mors;
 et cum omnia transeant, caritas nunquam excidit.
 Hæc est porta speciosa, quæ in subversione Hieru-
 salem integra et intacta permanfit: cumque omnia
 evacuentur in morte, dilectio in morte non moritur,
 cujus fortitudini mors succumbit. Regnum qui-
 dem Angliæ, quod adversus regem Stephanum armis
 strenuissimum sudoribus obtinuerat bellicis, licet
 adolescens et contemptus, filii ejus, consilio et
 auxilio regum et principum circumjacentium, gravi
 seditione turbaverant. Ipse autem destitutus suis, et
 ab extraneis impugnatus, illo aspirante, in cujus
 virtute unus fugat decem millia, prævaluit universis,
 deditque in manus ejus hostes suos Dominus, ad
 alligandos reges eorum in compedibus, et nobiles
 eorum in manicis ferreis. Ille, qui convertit corda
 filiorum ad patrem, ipsos in affectione filiali nutri-
 ens sedem patris in tempora longa stabiliat, et faciat
 pacem. Scio enim, quod si bella iterum fuscitave-
 rint in parentem, succidet eos dominus. Nam Dei
 judicio

judicio et lege fatali sancitum est, ut quicumque de consanguinitate illius bellis ipsum impugnare præsumpserit, non dimidiet dies suos. Hoc autem in libro experientiæ jam de multis legimus, et fide oculata cognovimus.

Nº III.

Harley, part 215. fol. 2. 6—36.

NOTUM sit omnibus tam præsentibus quam This is referred to in p. futuris, quod hoc modo facta pax inter Lodowicum regem Francie, et regem Anglie Henricum. *425 426*
 Rex Lodowicus reddidit regi Anglie omnia jura, et tenementa Henrici regis avi sui, que tenebat die, qua fuit vivus ac mortuus, plene et integre; excepto Wilcassino. Et de Wilcassino remansit regi Anglie feodum archiepiscopi Rotomag', et feodum comitis ligicum de feodo Britollii, et feodum comitis Ebr'. Et totum remanens Wilcassini regi Francie; hoc modo, quod ipse illud remanens dedit, et concessit maritadium cum filia sua filio regis Anglie habendum. Et cum inde seisiendum, ab assumptione beate Marie proxima post pacem factam, in tres annos, et si infra hunc terminum filia regis Francie filio regis Anglie desponsata fuerit, assensu et consensu Sancte Ecclesie, tunc erit rex Anglie seysitus de toto Wilcassino, et de Castellis Wilcassini, ad opus filii sui. Et si filia regis Francie infra hunc terminum obierit, Castella et Wilcassinum redibunt ad manum regis Francie; exceptis tribus feodis, que semper remanebunt regi Anglie soluta et quieta. Et ista conventionem, quod Castella remanebunt in custodia militum Templi, usque ad prædictum terminum: et habebunt redditus ad Castella

custodienda, quæ rex Francie in dominio habebat. Et interim, rex Francie habebit inde justiciam, et homagia, et servitium. Et Gocelinus Crispinus, et Goellius de Vaudémonte reversi sunt in homagia regis Francie, de eo quod habent in Wilcassino, et debent habere de ipso. Et si rex Francie habuerit querelam versus eos, que sit ad justiciam corporis, vel membrorum, sive exheredacionem, sive magnum gravamen pecunie, per consilium regis Anglie deducetur. Per istam convencionem Castellum Stipinnei prosternetur, infra festum Sancti Johannis. Comes Ebr.' Simon reversus est in homagium regis Francie; et servitium quiete in hominibus et castellis suis, et castella sua ei quieta remanebunt, sicut ceteri barones Francie castella sua quieta habent. Et rex solvit, et quietos clamavit homines ejusdem comitis omnes, à juramento quod ei fecerunt: et ipsum comitem similiter absolvit, de eo quod ad regem Francie pertinet. Et idem comes Ebi habebit omnia jura sua de foresta Aquilina, sicut jurata fuerunt per servientes regis Francie, et ipsius comitis. Sed si inter eos orta fuerit querela, per juramenta hominum et regis et comitis, qui hoc juraverunt, ex precepto regis, et sine mala voluntate ejus recognitum erit. Et de domo Sancti Leodegarii, si comes eum requisierit, de custodia ejusdem domus rex ei rectum tenebit. Præterea rex Francie reddidit regi Anglie omnia jura et tenementa comitis Piclavenfis, excepta Tolosa; hoc modo, quod rex Anglie concessit de Tolosa trevias, usque die primo Pentecost post pacem, in unum annum, pro amore regis Francie, comiti Sancti Egidii; salvo honore suo, sine malo ingenio, et sine sua et suorum hereditum exheredacione. Et quicquid rex Anglie habebat de honore Tolose, et Cadurco, et Cadurcino, ea die qua pax facta fuit, eidem regi Anglie remanebit; et si comes Sancti Egidii infra hunc terminum

regi

regi Anglię, vel suis hominibus, de predicto honore Tolose, vel Cadurci, forisfecerit, et ad marchia in termino convenienti non emendaverit, rex Francie inde ulterius se non intromittet. Et si comes de Bargelim' et Trencavel', et ceteri homines regis Anglię illius patrię, noluerint in trewis istis esse, et gwerram fecerint comiti Sancti Egidii, rex Anglię non juvabit eos infra hunc terminum contra istam conventionem.

Concedo et confirmo hils testibus: Petro Parisiac', Hugone Suefoinen', Roberto Ebroic', Ernaldo Exc', Philippo Baiocens', Rogero Sagiensi, Hugone Dunelm' Episcopo, Thoma Cancellar', Comite Flandren', Teodorico Comite, Henrico Comite Suefionens', Comite Belli Montis, Teodor' Wileriano, Willielmo Pavet, Magistro Templi et Fratribus, Otton'. de Sancto Ludonir', Gilberto de Laci, Ricardo de Hastig', Petro Episcopo, Roberto de Piro, Willielmo fratre regis Anglię, Comite Milletino, Ricardo de Humer, Jordano Taxo.

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